



TOLERANT CITY INDEX 2025

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PREFACE

Dear esteemed readers,

SETARA Institute is an association founded with an objective to realize an equitable, plural, and dignified society. In realizing such a vision, the organization conducts promotions, studies, and public education on pluralism, freedom of religions/beliefs (FoRB), social inclusion, democracy, human rights, rule of law, and peace. One of SETARA Institute's initiatives in relation to the objective is through the Tolerant City Index (TCI).

TCI has entered its 8th year since its first publication in 2015. This indexing study that is conducted by the researchers at SETARA is still in the same research area as Indonesia's FoRB Condition Report that has been also annually released since 2007, which is almost two decades of reporting.

Unlike FoRB condition research, which exclusively documents and analyzes the actors, modalities, and patterns of violations against FoRB as negative rights, the measurement conducted by SETARA Institute through the Tolerant City Index combines the paradigm of citizens' constitutional rights as guaranteed by the Constitution with human rights standards in accordance with international human rights law, particularly civil and political rights. The goal of this study is to encourage the creation and nurturing of tolerant spaces in cities, which will be carried out by the local governments and/or aided by cooperation with other facets of society.

The development of the TCI has consistently received broad support from numerous stakeholders, including ministries and state agencies, municipal governments, development partners, and civil

society elements. The extent of this support reflects the fact that this program constitutes, in essence, a shared agenda for expanding social inclusion within urban governance, as well as a concrete effort to encourage municipal governments to implement inclusive governance in accordance with the spirit of Pancasila and Indonesia's 2045 Vision.

In the context of collaboration and support from every party, in this 2025 edition of TCI, SETARA Institute collaborated with the Directorate General of Politics and General Governance, Ministry of Home Affairs, with the support of Ford Foundation. Therefore, SETARA Institute expresses its gratitude and utmost appreciation to both institutions.

Without the collaboration and the support from either parties, SETARA Institute must have invested a lot more energy and resources to face the multiplying challenges in conducting this study.

SETARA Institute anticipates that this study will offer social incentives for municipal governments' committed efforts to practice and promote tolerance. The SETARA Institute expects that local governments with high tolerance scores will share their urban governance experiences with other municipal governments in order to foster tolerance in the face of diversity. SETARA Institute anticipates that municipal governments and community components in cities with lower tolerance scores will show a willingness to learn from high-scoring cities about how to practice and promote tolerance within urban governance as a diverse unit of political and administrative management.

Finally, SETARA Institute is fully cognizant that this indexing study is not without limitations, both in its substantive and technical-methodological dimensions. In this regard, SETARA Institute greatly welcomes inputs from all relevant parties, particularly academics, urban activists, and government apparatus at both the national and municipal levels.

Jakarta, March 2, 2026

Executive Director,

Halili Hasan

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List of Abbreviations

BGKS	Salatiga Churches Collaboration Agency
BKSAUA	Interfaith Collaboration Agency
BPIP	Pancasila Ideology Development Agency
BPS	Central Statistics Agency
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DPRD	Regional House of Representatives
FKUB	Interfaith Harmony Forum
FPK	Ethnic Integration Forum
Formula	Youth Interfaith Forum
FM2P	Parepare Muslim Society Forum
FoRB	Freedom of Religion/Belief
FPLA	Youth Interfaith Forum Administration
GBI	Indonesian Bethel Church
GKPB	Balinese Protestant Church
GMIH	Evangelical Christian Church of Halmahera
HAM	Human Rights
HKI	<i>Huria Kristen Indonesia</i>
IMB	Building Construction Permit

ISComE	International Student Community Engagement
Kemendagri	Ministry of Home Affairs
Kemenkumham	Ministry of Law and Human Rights
KMHDI	Indonesian Hindu Dharma Students Association
Perda	Regional Regulation
Perwal	Mayoral Regulation
Perwala	Interfaith Women's Fellowship
PGI	Indonesian Churches Association
PKUB	Religious Harmony Center
RAD	Regional Action Plan
RDP	Public Hearing/Committee Hearing
RPJMD	Regional Medium-Term Development Plan
SD	Elementary/Primary School
SMP	Junior High/Middle School
SK	Decree
TCI	Tolerant City Index
TWR	Religious Tourism Park
KRPPA	Women and Children-Friendly Sub-District

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. ABOUT TOLERANT CITY INDEX 2025

The Tolerant City Index (TCI) is an indexing report conducted by SETARA Institute to promote best practices of religious tolerance in cities across Indonesia. The 2025 TCI will be the 9th edition by SETARA Institute since its first publication in 2015. Previously, TCI has been published from 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, and 2024.

TCI indexes performances of cities, which include the measurement of the governance of diversity, tolerance, and social inclusion by the city governments and elements of society. TCI's measurement combines the paradigms of constitutional rights of citizens, international law standards for human rights, and inclusive governance principles.

Such a combination is targeted to capture the practices and promotions of tolerance in each city comprehensively, either done by their respective city governments or by the societies. Through TCI, SETARA Institute hopes that it can promote every city to develop inclusive regional development plannings, pass promotive policies, allocate adequate budgets for promoting tolerance and inclusion, prevent cases of intolerance, and strengthen collaboration in governing diversity, tolerance, national consciousness, and social inclusion.

1.2. WORKING DEFINITION

A “tolerant city” is a city with inclusive visions and development planning, conducive regulations for exercises and promotions of tolerance, progressive leaderships for conducting and improving tolerance, low intolerance and violations against Freedom of Religions and Beliefs (FoRB), and continuous efforts to govern social diversity and inclusion.

SETARA Institute then lays down the concept into four systemic city variables that can influence social behaviour between identities and entities, which are: (1) city government’s policies, (2) government apparatuses’ actions, (3) behaviours between city entities, including between residents and government with the residents, and (4) social relations amidst the city’s demographic heterogeneity.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

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SETARA Institute, by also considering Indonesia's uniqueness, modified the structure with an additional variable, which is the socio-religion demography. Composition of the population is seen as one of the parameters in measuring governance of tolerance and harmony in cities. Heterogeneity or homogeneity of religious backgrounds in a city is assumed to affect the quality (of effort) done by the city.

SETARA Institute, by also considering Indonesia's uniqueness, modified the structure with an additional variable, which is the socio-religion demography. Composition of the population is seen as one of the parameters in measuring governance of tolerance and harmony in cities. Heterogeneity or homogeneity of religious backgrounds in a city is assumed to affect the quality (of effort) done by the city.

The selection of cities over regencies as the unit of analysis is based on the consideration that urban populations are expected to be more heterogeneous in composition compared to their regency counterparts. Furthermore, in terms of research effectiveness and efficiency, cities are

regarded as having greater demographic similarity and administrative uniformity compared to the 416 regencies across 38 provinces in Indonesia.

Drawing upon the operational definition and indexing framework, the TCI study establishes 4 (four) variables comprising 8 (eight) indicators as its measurement instruments. These 8 indicators represent elements inherent to a city, as well as constitutive components of the tolerance ecosystem that SETARA Institute continues to promote and advance through the TCI study, namely:

A. City Government's Regulations

- Indicator 1: Regional Development Planning and other supporting legal products
- Indicator 2: City government's policies, including promotive and discriminative policies on issues of tolerance

B. Social Regulations

- Indicator 3: Cases of intolerance
- Indicator 4: Civil society dynamics on issues of tolerance

C. Government's Actions

- Indicator 5: Key official's statements on issues of tolerance
- Indicator 6: Concrete actions on issues of tolerance

D. Demography of Socio-Religion

- Indicator 7: Heterogeneity of religions
- Indicator 8: Socio-religious inclusion

To add to the depth of the data, since the release of the 2018 edition of TCI, this study has also explored sub-indicator rubrics by incorporating tolerance-reinforcing aspects such as gender mainstreaming, social inclusion, and civil society participation. Further development of

research indicators was also undertaken in the 2024 TCI, through the expansion of the second indicator, which originally measured only the presence or absence of discriminatory policies in a given region, into a broader government policy indicator encompassing sub-indicators of discriminatory policies and policies that are promotive of interfaith tolerance.

This development is to continually strengthen the ecosystem of tolerance at the regional level through legitimization of regional regulations, as well as a form of the political and bureaucratic leaderships' commitment to develop a tolerant city. In addition, it should be understood that this study also took notes of the enhancement of progressive policies in several regions, just like what had been found in the TCI 2024.

Data collected from the various sub-indicator rubrics are processed to depict the achievements, problems, and challenges faced by both the government and urban communities in the promotion and practice of tolerance within their respective cities. Data sources are collected from official mayoral government documents, as well as reports from national ministries/agencies, such as from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), National Commission on Violence against Women, National Commission on Human Rights, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Law, Ministry of Human Rights, as well as other government documentations. This study also utilises the data from SETARA Institute, and other civil society organisations (CSOs), as well as selected media references. The collection was done through the submission of self-assessment questionnaires by every city government.

Taking into account the varying degrees of influence of each indicator on the factual state of tolerance in each city, SETARA Institute applies differential weighting percentages to each indicator. The combination of weightings across all indicators yields the following final measurement percentages:

1. Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) (10%)
2. City Government's Policies (20%)

3. Cases of Intolerance	(20%)
4. Civil Society Dynamics	(10%)
5. City Government's Public Statements	(10%)
6. City Government's Concrete Actions	(15%)
7. Religious Heterogeneity	(5%)
8. Socio-Religious Inclusion	(10%)

The averaged results of the combined weightings are measured against a scoring scheme. In this study, the scoring employs a Likert scale with a value range of 1-7, representing a gradative spectrum from low to high quality, with a value of 1 denoting the lowest quality and 7 denoting the highest. Furthermore, to ensure the validity of the scored data, SETARA Institute simultaneously applies three validity testing techniques: (1) source triangulation, (2) self-assessment questionnaires, and (3) expert meeting series.

The self-assessment questionnaire submission becomes one of the most important measures to declare the performance of city governments in their own words. The questionnaire also serves as a space to promote or challenge the opinion of the public on certain cases or actions and policies. Alongside that, a series of expert meetings were conducted to collect inputs and deeper analyses from experts on the issues of interfaith tolerance, social harmony, human rights, and social inclusion, which come from government ministries/agencies, practitioners, as well as academicians.[]

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The TCI 2025 has resulted in the ranking of 94 cities across Indonesia, ranging from the city with the highest to the lowest score of tolerance [Appendix 1]. The rankings of the 94 cities are as follows:

3.1. 10 CITIES WITH THE HIGHEST SCORES OF TOLERANCE

Table 1
10 Cities with the Highest Scores of Tolerance in 2025

Ranking	City	Ind 1	Ind 2	Ind 3	Ind 4	Ind 5	Ind 6	Ind 7	Ind 8	Final Score
1	Salatiga	6,50	6,46	6,50	6,00	6,00	7,00	6,00	7,00	6,492
2	Singkawang	6,33	6,04	7,00	6,00	6,00	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,391
3	Semarang	5,50	6,05	6,50	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,160
4	Pematang Siantar	5,00	5,92	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,084
5	Bekasi	6,17	6,10	6,00	6,00	6,00	7,00	5,00	5,00	6,037
6	Sukabumi	5,33	5,95	7,00	5,00	6,00	6,00	5,00	6,00	5,973
7	Magelang	5,83	5,86	7,00	4,00	6,00	6,00	5,00	5,00	5,805

Ranking	City	Ind 1	Ind 2	Ind 3	Ind 4	Ind 5	Ind 6	Ind 7	Ind 8	Final Score
8	Kediri	6,00	5,71	6,00	5,00	6,00	6,00	5,00	6,00	5,792
9	Tegal	5,13	6,35	7,00	4,00	5,00	6,00	5,00	5,00	5,733
10	Ambon	5,33	5,62	6,00	4,00	6,00	7,00	5,00	5,00	5,657

TCI 2025 recorded stronger and more competitive dynamics between the top 10 cities in promoting tolerance. Such positions are not merely signs of stagnation and symbolisms, but they actually reflect the well-structured, innovative, and sustainable policymaking and implementations. One of the highlights is the emergence of 2 (two) cities to enter the top 10: Tegal and Ambon. This is Tegal City's first time to make the top 10 in TCI, while Ambon City returns to the top 10 after a while.

The inclusion of Tegal and Ambon in the top 10 TCI scores for 2025 marks a significant development in the national tolerance landscape. Whereas the top 10 rankings were previously dominated by cities already well-established in diversity governance, new actors have now emerged demonstrating considerable acceleration. This indicates that the top 10 rankings are not the exclusive preserve of particular cities. This shift carries the implication that tolerance performance is not a static status, but rather the product of a policy process that is capable of improvement and advancement, as well as active collaboration between local governments, interfaith communities, and civil society.

Tegal recorded a significant rise in rankings, breaking into the top 10 for the first time. This leap is particularly noteworthy given that the city ranked 39th in the 2024 TCI. Tegal's progressive advancement in promoting tolerance is underpinned by a regulatory foundation through Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 on the Maintenance of Religious Harmony. The Regulation signals an important formal commitment coming from the municipal government to prioritize

tolerance as a regional governance agenda, and not merely a normative declaration.

Ambon, meanwhile, has returned to the top 10 cities with the highest tolerance scores in the 2025 TCI. Ambon's return to the upper rankings substantively indicates the successful consolidation process that has been undertaken in recent years. Such a condition can be seen from the zero case of intolerance in Ambon in the entirety of 2025, which is a fruit for the government and the society's hard work in developing religious tolerance.

Besides Tegal and Ambon, 8 (eight) other cities in the top 10 of the 2025 TCI are the same top 10 cities in the 2024 TCI, with some dynamics of position changes. The solidity of the cities in the top 10 highlights the continuous protection and synergy of elements in the city to preserve the tolerance ecosystem, as well as a more promotive performances of 3 (three) components of leaderships, which are the societal leadership, political leadership, and bureaucratic leadership.

The dynamics observed in the rankings of the top 10 cities clearly demonstrate the continuous innovations undertaken by these cities in strengthening the tolerance ecosystem within their respective regions. As in the 2024 TCI, Salatiga maintains its position at rank 1 as the city with the highest tolerance score in the 2025 TCI, with a score of 6.492. This consistency is not merely a numerical achievement, but a reflection of the continuity of social practices and policies that have become institutionalized.

The solidity of Salatiga at the top spot indicates that the ecosystem of tolerance in this city does not only depend on a temporary momentum, but is also supported by resilient and layered social foundations. Besides the social modality and inter-community relations, regulations to solidify the commitment on tolerance by the city government have emerged since 2024 as one of the foundations, one of them is the Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2024 on the Organization of Religious Tolerance and Social Conflict Management.

A deeply-rooted ecosystem of tolerance, in both the municipal government and society, is also being displayed by Singkawang City. Despite achieving 2nd place with a score of 6.391 in this year's TCI, just like last year, the city is still consistently being one of the primary references for a tolerant city in Indonesia. Challenges arising when retaining the position are oftentimes more complex than trying to achieve 1st place. Singkawang, however, successfully shows its resilience, by consistently indicating that the tolerance in the city is not merely numbers, but has also become a part of the city's identity.

Next is Semarang City, which has also defended its 3rd place in the TCI ranking, with a score of 6.160 in 2025. Such an achievement indicates that this is its second consecutive year to be placed at the Top 3, which is an important sign of the city's consistency in governing tolerance in a metropolitan with more than 1.7 million populations.

Maining its ranking in the TCI merits recognition. Retaining a position within the top 3 for two consecutive years is no modest accomplishment for the city of Semarang. As a provincial capital characterized by high levels of social, economic, and demographic complexity, Semarang faced some considerable challenges in the management of diversity. This consistency therefore demonstrates that the strengthening of tolerance in Semarang is not incidental in nature, but has been integrated into the practice of urban governance.

Pematangsiantar City also became one of the most consistent and progressive cities in promoting tolerance, especially in the last two years. In this year's TCI, Pematangsiantar ranked 4th with a score of 6.084. This is one rank higher than the 2024 edition of TCI, in which they were placed 5th overall. This implies that the city is still retaining its positive trend, bearing in mind that in the 2023 TCI, Pematangsiantar only ranked 11th.

The design of Pematangsiantar's development plan for 2025–2029 further advances the idea of tolerance. As a multi-ethnic and multi-religious city, Pematangsiantar is dedicated to maintaining the spirit of tolerance and civic solidarity in line with the spirit of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, according to one

of its development missions, namely the sixth mission. Strengthening tolerance and civic cohesion as a multiethnic and multireligious city is also one of the seven development priorities.

Like the previous year, the 2025 TCI shows that advancements are supported by promotive political leaderships in shaping the ecosystem of tolerance in Pematangsiantar. Such political leaderships will mobilize bureaucratic and societal leaders in Pematangsiantar to prioritize as well as to ensure the ever-developing agenda on interfaith tolerance. The ecosystem of tolerance does not only depend on a singular figure, but on a well-distributed collective movement.

Next, Bekasi secured rank 5th among the cities with the highest tolerance scores in the 2025 TCI, with a score of 6.037, advancing two places from its previous rank of 7th in the 2024 TCI. This advancement reflects a successful strengthening and consolidation of tolerance promotion in Bekasi, particularly notable given that the city had previously dropped from rank 2 in the 2023 TCI to rank 7 in the 2024 TCI.

Despite the advancement, one of Bekasi's biggest homeworks is cases of intolerance. As one of the cities supporting the capital city with high urbanization and heterogeneity, Bekasi has one of the most challenging social complexities. Bekasi's relegation from 2nd to 7th in 2024 TCI was one of the impacts of its complexity, due to a paradox: on one hand, the city has adequate resources and agencies to develop an ecosystem of tolerance. On the other hand, the city has to face the strong residue and dynamics of intolerance.

Meanwhile, Sukabumi successfully maintained its position at rank 6 among the cities with the highest tolerance scores in the 2025 TCI, with a score of 5.973, which is identical to its ranking in the 2024 TCI. Under these circumstances, the public may begin to observe that this consistency indicates that the tolerance ecosystem in Sukabumi is neither incidental nor momentum-based, but has become relatively institutionalized within the governance framework and the social life of the community.

Other cities in the top 10 also showcased some variable dynamics

in their commitment to protect religious tolerance, despite not all of them having progress in their rankings. Magelang City is one of them, which this year it achieved 7th place with a score of 5.805. Even though the city is still in the top 10, Magelang has been relegated from 4th place in last year's TCI.

There had been no cases of intolerance across 2025 in Magelang, which is a result that both the government and the people of Magelang have achieved thanks to their efforts in developing tolerance. Such regression in the ranking does not signal a drastic setback in its practice of tolerance, instead it is a sign that dynamics between cities have become increasingly more competitive. Therefore, Magelang needs to innovate to stay in contention.

Lastly, there is the City of Kediri, which retains its position in the top 10 in the 2025 TCI. Kediri is still placed at 8th with a score of 5.792, which is a similar position to last year. This consistency indicates that Kediri's foundations of tolerance are relatively stable and able to withstand the ever-evolving social dynamics. This stability shows that there is a harmony and sustainability between political and bureaucratic commitments in safeguarding a conducive diversity.

Cities in the top 10 have displayed consistency throughout the protection of FoRB, enhancement of non-discriminative regulations, as well as the development of inclusive governance. At the same time, the achievements of those cities give valuable lessons to other cities. Best practices in formulating inclusive visions, integrating tolerance in the RPJMD, strengthening civil society participation, as well as ensuring just public services, can be replicated by adapting to the local context.

Accordingly, the 2025 TCI functions not merely as a ranking instrument, but also as a collective learning map. Cities outside the top 10 need not regard their position as a discouraging distance to overcome, but rather as a directional reference, demonstrating that advancement in tolerance can be achieved through clear policy commitment, inclusive leadership, and a genuine adherence to the principle of 'no one left behind'.

3.2. HIGHEST-SCORING CITIES IN EACH VARIABLE

Besides giving the accumulated score from all indicators as the basis of the rankings of 94 cities, this study also classifies their scores based on each research variable. Such an approach is based on the methodological understanding that the achievement of tolerance in a city does not always translate to equal achievements in all dimensions. A city can get a suboptimal total score, but it can display a very good performance in selected variables and is substantially important in building the ecosystem of tolerance.

Variable-based classification is therefore also intended as a form of appreciation for best practices that are worthy of replication. Recognition of these specific strengths is important in encouraging local governments to continue developing their existing competencies, while simultaneously addressing dimensions that remain weak. Accordingly, this approach is not merely evaluative in nature, but also constructive, thus providing moral and policy incentives for cities to deepen the quality of tolerance governance in dimensions that have already demonstrated progress.

3.2.1. VARIABLE 1: GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS

Within this variable, the principal premise that must underpin regional development is that all citizens, without exception, are entitled to a safe, equal, and dignified place within communal life. Mainstreaming of this principle serves to affirm that there are no second-class citizens, particularly on the basis of ethnic, racial, or religious background. The mainstreaming of the principle of equality is simultaneously aligned with the no one left behind principle, to ensure that no citizen is left behind or marginalized in the development process.

A key point that may be underscored within the TCI paradigm, particularly within this variable, is that tolerance is not a supplementary element in development planning documents, but rather the moral and strategic foundation of equitable urban

governance that upholds the equality of every citizen. In a pluralistic society such as Indonesia, development devoid of a vision of tolerance is a shortcut toward social tension and the perpetuation of favoritism.

In the 2025 TCI, specifically in the variable of Government Regulations, 10 cities achieve the highest score in this variable, which are:

Table 2
10 Cities with the Highest Score in Variable 1: Government Regulations

TCI 2025 Ranking	City	Ind 1	Ind 2	Score	Variable Ranking
1	Salatiga	6,50	6,46	6,480	1
2	Singkawang	6,33	6,04	6,185	2
5	Bekasi	6,17	6,10	6,135	3
8	Kediri	6,00	5,71	5,855	4
7	Magelang	5,83	5,86	5,845	5
3	Semarang	5,50	6,05	5,775	6
12	Surakarta	5,33	6,22	5,775	7
9	Tegal	5,13	6,35	5,740	8
6	Sukabumi	5,33	5,95	5,640	9
11	Manado	6,00	5,20	5,600	10

The table above illustrates that cities occupying the top 10 rankings have firmly established tolerance as one of the foundational pillars of their development. Consequently, all derivative policies and initiatives will remain anchored to a vision of tolerance, as tolerance-oriented development must ensure that public policies are not only administratively effective, but also socially equitable and inclusive.

Tolerance in those cities are constructed mainly on the basis of two factors. Firstly, the city's vision on tolerance in its regional development plan. This vision is translated into programmes and adequate budget allocations needed to promote tolerance, ranging from religious organizations, advocacy groups on gender mainstreaming, to the education sector.

For instance, in Salatiga, the emphasis on the vision of tolerance still looks strong in its 2025-2029 RPJMD. The plan places an inclusive, harmonious, and advanced social transformation as one of the objectives alongside economic achievement and global competitiveness, in the “Globalized Salatiga (*Salatiga yang Mendunia*)” framework. Within such framework, the city's commitment to exercise a just and equitable regional development for all of its people has been solidified.

One of the key missions in realizing this vision is to build Salatiga's profile as an inclusive city, one that guarantees the rights of its citizens equally and without discrimination. This emphasis is particularly evident in the commitment to delivering public services that are accessible and accommodating to all community groups. Tolerance is thus not merely present as a normative narrative, but is integrated into the direction of development and the quality of public service delivery.

Furthermore, a number of strategies and policy directions have also been formulated to support that vision. One of them is the improvement of regional conduciveness in supporting socio-economic activities, with policy directions focused on: (1) Strengthening social, religious, racial, and community group harmony thru the enhancement of political education and national insight in various activities to foster love for the homeland, values of tolerance, and mutual respect in education and daily life; and (2) Improving a strict oversight and law enforcement system against violations, ensuring a humanistic approach based on social justice.

That vision is supported by legal products that encourage tolerance. Since 2024, the regulatory foundation has also been

present as a commitment from the city government to promote tolerance through Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2024 on Community Tolerance Implementation and Social Conflict Resolution. The presence of this regional regulation is significant because it represents the institutionalisation of tolerance within the context of regional law.

This means that tolerance is no longer just a social practice derived from the habit of coexistence, but has also evolved into a policy mandate with formal binding power. In the national context, few cities have tolerance-specific regulations. Until this study, only 5 (five) cities had similar regulations, including Salatiga: Banjarmasin, Mojokerto, Tegal, Bandung, and Surakarta. This demonstrates that Salatiga belongs to a group of cities that are both socially responsive and regulatory progressive.

The regional regulation also functions as a sustainability mechanism. When political leadership changes, the normative framework serves as a reference and minimum standard that must be upheld. The progressiveness of this tolerance regulation is demonstrated by the efforts made to implement community tolerance, specifically the enhancement and maintenance of tolerance as outlined in Article 6, paragraphs (1) and (2). These efforts demonstrate that the city of Salatiga is no longer promoting tolerance through public order measures. This Tolerance Regional Regulation also demonstrates that the local government is not only silent or reactive to potential and actual intolerance conflicts, but also proactive in creating a safe and equitable living environment for all.

In addition to the tolerance bylaw, the Salatiga city government has issued other tolerance-promoting legal products, including (1) Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2024 on Pancasila Education and National Insight, and (2) Salatiga Mayor's Decree No. 200.2/276/2024 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Mitigation of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism in Salatiga City for the Years 2024-2027.

Kota Singkawang is no exception; the 2025-2029 development

vision emphasises that one of the goals for Singkawang City development is to create inclusive and competitive human resources. This mission demonstrates the Singkawang City Government's commitment to promoting human quality as the primary foundation of regional development. Inclusive human resources are defined as those who can develop without discrimination, are open to diversity, and have equal access to basic services such as education, health, employment, and social security. Inclusivity also includes caring for vulnerable groups such as women, children, the elderly, people with disabilities, and impoverished communities. In contrast, competitiveness refers to an individual's ability to adapt.

This vision is also supported by legal products that encourage tolerance. Since 2021, the Singkawang City government has issued Mayor Regulation No. 129 of 2021, which promotes community tolerance. Meanwhile, in 2024, the city government innovated its legal products by issuing Mayor Decree No. 200.1.1/363/BD.05. KSB of 2024, which established an Integrated Team and Secretariat for the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Reduction of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism.

Furthermore, one of the progressive innovations currently underway in Singkawang for 2025 is the development of a Regional Regulation on the Implementation of Inclusive Governance. This initiative demonstrates that Singkawang's commitment to tolerance extends beyond social and symbolic practices to a more systematic and robust normative framework, as outlined in Mayor Regulation No. 129 of 2021 on the Implementation of Community Tolerance.

The draft regional regulation demonstrates that the concept and idea of inclusivity are understood not only as interfaith relations in Salatiga, but also as a principle and component of public services, citizen participation, development planning, and local decision-making.

This draft regional regulation has been through facilitation stages by the Legal Bureau of West Kalimantan Province to ensure compliance with legislative provisions, and it is now in

the second-level session stage at the Singkawang City DPRD for further discussion and determination. If this regional regulation is approved, Singkawang will join a small group of Indonesian cities that already have specific tolerance or inclusive governance regulations.

Then, Bekasi City, despite the fact that the cumulative score of all indicators places this city in fifth (fifth), the score of variable 1 places this city in third. A higher position in Variable 1 indicates that Bekasi has a relatively strong foundation, both normatively and policy-wise—in terms of regulatory commitment, inclusive development planning, and leadership commitment to tolerance values.

The design of the development plan for the city of Bekasi from 2025 to 2029 emphasised that a Comfortable Bekasi City is described as a depiction of a conducive urban life, safe and protected for its citizens, with a pleasant environmental atmosphere, calm daily activities, guaranteed freedom of expression, and harmonious mutual respect in its religious and cultural life in Bekasi City.

In terms of regulation, Bekasi City essentially has no shortage of tools for encouraging tolerance. There are two (two) specific tolerance regulations: Mayor Regulation No. 57.B of 2021 for the Implementation of Religious Harmony in Bekasi City and Mayor Regulation No. 27 of 2022 for the Implementation of Community Life Tolerance. Even in 2023, the city government has issued Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2023, which concerns Pancasila Education and National Insight.

Similarly to Bekasi City, Kediri City ranks 4th in variable 1. The design of the development planning for the Kediri City through the RPJMD for the years 2025-2029 emphasizes that the Kediri City is religious in its vision of *Building a Sustainable City of Kediri (A City that is Advanced, Religious, Productive, Safe, and Longed for)*. It is explained that the Religious City of Kediri is defined as a city whose people uphold the values of divinity, humanity, peace, tolerance, and the spirit of mutual cooperation. The goal is to create harmony and balance in daily life through innovative activities that expand

the scope of interfaith harmony.

In addition, the city of Kediri has a regulatory foundation in the form of Mayor Regulation No. 6 of 2023, which outlines guidelines for implementing interfaith harmony. The presence of this regulation indicates that Kediri's tolerance agenda is more than just a socio-cultural approach; it has been institutionalised within the normative framework of local government.

However, the existence of regulations does not rule out the possibility of intolerance incidents occurring. Regulations become important in such situations, but their effectiveness is heavily dependent on the implementation, supervision, and response capacity of authorities and local stakeholders. Kediri City also needs to improve program innovations that are more participatory and community-based.

The city of Magelang also emphasises tolerance in its 2025-2029 development plan. The vision outlined in the Magelang City RPJMD 2025-2029 Document is "*Magelang, a Harmonious, Humanistic, Comfortable, and Sustainable Trade and Service City.*" The vision of tolerance related to the RPJMD vision is explicitly stated in "Harmonious," which means harmony, compatibility, and equality, directing Magelang City to become an inclusive city. Harmony in fostering relationships among community members includes all aspects, with a focus on harmony between followers of different religions.

Tolerance is linked to the mission outlined in Magelang City's RPJMD 2025-2029, specifically Mission 3, "*Creating Harmony Among Religious Communities.*" The content of Mission 3 implies that harmonious relationships among religious communities entail establishing good relationships, mutual respect, understanding, affection, always doing good, speaking gently, and being polite, as taught by each religion that promotes goodness. Mission 3 "Creating Harmony Among Religious Communities" serves as a supporting pillar, ensuring that the City of Magelang remains an attractive investment destination by maintaining regional security and order.

That vision is also supported by the Mayor of Magelang's Regulation Number 54 of 2022 on the Magelang Religious Program, which remains a cornerstone of the Magelang City government. The purpose of this regulation is to establish a societal order based on religious, cultural, civilised, and tolerant values, as well as faith and piety. This includes: (1) forming and recognising religious villages; (2) empowering places of worship; (3) establishing Magelang shared houses; and (4) providing religious guidance.

However, given the scope of FKUB Kota Magelang's activities, it is necessary to consider increasing the budget allocation. Because the Magelang City Government only granted IDR 158 million to Magelang City's FKUB. This grant is not fully allocated to FKUB's operational costs, but is used to provide IDR 1 million stimulus funds to each of the 108 Religious Villages in Magelang City. Meanwhile, FKUB has been allocated IDR 50 million to support interfaith harmony activities. The FKUB budget must be increased so that operational activities are not limited to the construction and management of religious villages, but also include the creation of spaces for encounters, interfaith dialogues, and other activities.

Semarang has a strong vision for tolerance within its ecosystem. The promotion of tolerance is not a separate sectoral agenda, but is explicitly integrated into Semarang's development strategy. This is reflected in the City Government's Mission 1, which is to achieve the equalisation of education and social welfare in a tolerant and cultured society in the spirit of diversity, as well as to promote productive, quality, and character-building human development. This formulation demonstrates that tolerance is also positioned as an inherent part of human development, as it is linked to equitable access to education, reducing social inequality, and improving the quality of human resources.

Semarang's continued presence in the top three of the IKT 2025 cannot be separated from the development of a relatively progressive regulatory architecture over the last two years. The Semarang City Government made a progressive step forward by issuing a legal product that promotes tolerance, even at the

regional level, namely Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2024 on the Implementation of Human Rights. The existence of such a legal product exemplifies the maturation of political leadership, bureaucracy, and community in Semarang City in their efforts to promote tolerance in the region.

This regional regulation assigns the responsibility for respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights to local governments, so that the issue of tolerance does not stand alone, but rather becomes part of a larger human rights framework. This is because, through this regional regulation, the Semarang City government's commitment to ensuring the implementation of human rights in its jurisdiction is clearly demonstrated.

The provisions of this regional regulation reflect a number of progressive goals for promoting tolerance, such as increasing local governments' awareness and responsibility for human rights and basic human freedoms, as well as maintaining each person's level of freedom, which is limited by the human rights of others, without discrimination, as stated in Article 3. Meanwhile, to promote tolerance, this regional regulation emphasises through Article 10 letter b that everyone has the right to freely embrace their religion and worship according to their faith and beliefs.

In addition to the Human Rights Regional Regulation, the Semarang City Government has issued Mayor's Regulation No. 47 of 2019 on Strengthening National Insight through Pancasila Literacy in Semarang City. The Semarang City government then issued another pro-tolerance legal product in 2024, namely the Semarang Mayor's Regulation No. 48 of 2024 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Mitigation of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism, as well as the Mayor's Decree No. 200.1/1022 of 2024 on the Formation of the Working Group for the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Mitigation of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism in Semarang City. Previously, the Semarang City government issued Mayor's Decree No. 450/1154 of 2022, which established FKUB at the sub-district level in Semarang City for the period 2022–2025.

The Human Rights Regional Regulation and the Extremism Prevention Action Plan demonstrate upstream-downstream integration in the governance of tolerance. On the one hand, human rights principles are being strengthened as a normative foundation; on the other, operational steps are being taken to prevent radicalisation and ideologically motivated violence. The combination of the two creates an ecosystem that not only maintains social harmony but also strengthens the city's resilience to more complex forms of intolerance.

In terms of building places of worship, Semarang City has Mayor Regulation No. 46 of 2021 on the Procedures for Issuing Permits for Establishing Places of Worship in Semarang City. Although the construction requirements remain consistent with the PBM 2 Ministerial Regulation of 2006, particularly the 90 (users of the place of worship) and 60 (community approval) requirements, there are breakthrough provisions that provide exceptions to the general provisions or requirements for the construction of places of worship. Article 6 states that the approval of the Principle of Establishment of Places of Worship, as referred to in Article 4 paragraph (2), and the requirements, as referred to in Article 4 paragraph (3), are exempted for places of worship as follows:

- a. Family place of worship;
- b. A place of worship located in restricted areas, including: Government/Private Office Complexes, Educational Institutions, Islamic Boarding Schools, Hotels, Restaurants/Eateries, Malls, Markets, Airports, Seaports, Train Stations, Bus Terminals, Hospitals, and similar places; and/or Rebuilding, modifying, expanding, reducing, and/or
- c. Maintaining the building of a place of worship that has obtained a Place of Worship Establishment Permit.

One issue that requires clarification is that places of worship that have previously obtained establishment permits are exempt from the requirements for building places of worship if they wish to renovate, whether by modifying, expanding, reducing, or rebuilding.

In 2025, the Semarang City government issued Mayor's Decree No. 400.8.1/614 of 2025 concerning the Formation of the Research and Consideration Team for the Establishment of Places of Worship in Semarang City for the Period of 2025-2028, as one of the operational rules of Mayor's Regulation No. 46 of 2021, which has provided the option to form the Research and Consideration Team for the Establishment of Places of Worship through Article 7, paragraph (1). This team's responsibilities include processing applications for principle approval to establish places of worship and ensuring that application requirements are complete.

Although Surakarta City's overall score accumulation does not place it in the top 10, it has managed to position itself in the top 10. This finding suggests the presence of specific strengths in certain dimensions, which merit further investigation. At the same time, Surakarta's absence from the overall top ten suggests problems with other variables.

The Vision of Surakarta City 2025-2029 encapsulates the concept of tolerance: "Gotong Royong to realise a Cultural, Advanced, Prosperous, and Sustainable Surakarta." This is then translated into the meaning of Cultural Surakarta, in which tolerance is one of the cultural harmony values. Tolerance, according to the RPJMD, is derived from Javanese culture's fundamental values, particularly the value of harmony. The concept of harmony is defined as alignment, balance, mutual respect for diversity, and efforts to reduce social conflict. The RPJMD document emphasises that the realisation of harmony values in modern governance is achieved through the concepts of tolerance, multiculturalism, inclusivity, equality, and anti-disparity.

That vision of tolerance is also supported by legal products that promote tolerance, such as Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2025 on the Implementation of Community Tolerance and Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2023 on the Internalisation of Pancasila Values. This step represents a more concrete political commitment to incorporating diversity and nondiscrimination values into regional legal frameworks.

With the implementation of the regional regulation, Surakarta no longer relies solely on narratives or development visions, but has established a stronger regulatory framework to protect and promote tolerance. This breakthrough also places Surakarta among the six Indonesian cities with a Tolerance Regional Regulation.

Another intriguing phenomenon occurred in Tegal City. Because Tegal City not only established itself as a newcomer to the top ten most tolerant cities, but also demonstrated a strong vision foundation to support that achievement. Tegal's rise to the top ranks is more than a statistical coincidence; it reflects a development strategy that actively promotes tolerance and inclusivity as part of the city's identity.

Tolerance is not viewed as a peripheral issue in Tegal City development planning, but rather as an integral component of the regional planning framework. One of the city's development goals is to strengthen religious moderation and interfaith harmony. This mission is then translated into goals and objectives, such as increased religious tolerance, enhanced cooperation among religious communities, and improved equality of rights, all of which directly reflect the vision of tolerance in regional development policies.

Tegal City's progressiveness in promoting tolerance did not appear overnight, but rather as a result of political leadership that is strongly supportive of the formation of a tolerance ecosystem, as well as a stronger regulatory foundation through Regional Regulation

No. Year 2024 on the Maintenance of Religious Harmony. This regional regulation demonstrates the city's formal commitment to making tolerance a governance agenda rather than just a normative discourse.

This regional regulation affirms that everyone has the right to practise their religion and worship according to their beliefs (Article 5), and that every religious follower has the right to develop their religious teachings in accordance with humanity's dignity and worth (Article 6a). This provision strengthens the local guarantee of religious and belief freedom while also providing a normative foundation for minority rights protection. The presence of this regional regulation also indicates that the local government is not passively responding to potential social friction, but is actively developing a regulatory framework for prevention and harmony.

In principle, the presence of the tolerance regional regulation in Tegal City demonstrates a shared vision of tolerance among the regional executive and legislative branches. This alignment becomes critical in ensuring that the agenda for promoting tolerance gains political legitimacy and a legal foundation through a deliberative legislative process, rather than relying solely on the rhetorical commitment of regional leaders. Legislative support strengthens the binding power of regulations while also providing oversight to ensure that regional regulations (Perda) are implemented consistently and accountable.

Other cities in the top ten of variable 1 experience similar conditions, including Sukabumi City and Manado City. These two cities demonstrate that policy and normative commitment can be powerful tools for promoting tolerance, even when social dynamics and local challenges are complex.

Sukabumi City's success in remaining in the top ten of the IKT 2025 is due not only to the absence of intolerance incidents, but also to adequate response capacity and conflict management. This is demonstrated by the progressive policies implemented by the city government in 2025, including the issuance of Mayor

Regulation No. 20 of 2025 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Religious Harmony. This regulation is significant not only as an administrative tool, but also as a normative framework defining the government's obligations and role in promoting tolerance.

Previously, the Sukabumi City government issued Mayor Regulation No. 53 of 2023, which addressed inclusive development planning. This regulation demonstrates that Sukabumi's vision of tolerance is incorporated into development planning documents, rather than just interfaith harmony. The strengthening of the policy basis demonstrates that the City of Sukabumi is providing increasingly high-quality protection for religious/belief freedom and policy inclusivity.

Meanwhile, Manado's rise to the top ten of Variable 1 demonstrates that the practice of tolerance, which is socially embedded, is reinforced by relatively progressive government commitment and support. For example, through the allocation of grant budgets to the FKUB of Manado City, which is provided every fiscal year, the FKUB of Manado City will receive a grant of Rp. 1,000,000,000 in 2025 to fund its activities.

Still within the budget, the Manado City government offers incentives to Religious Leaders in Manado City totalling 1,322 (One Thousand Three Hundred Twenty-Two), with the amount varying according to the number of Congregants/Followers they lead, ranging from Rp.600,000 to Rp.1,500,000 per month. Thus, the next challenge is to ensure that Variable 1's strength can be consistently translated into daily social implementation and practices, aided by tolerance-promoting regulations, thereby influencing overall score improvement.

Equally important to consider is that gender considerations are also included in the design of these city developments. For example, in the city of Salatiga, it is emphasized that the improvement of

the quality of protection for women and children, as well as family welfare, is focused on policy directions such as:

1. Strengthening regulations and policies for the protection of women, children, and family welfare
2. Improving gender and children's development
3. Strengthening the prevention and protection services against violence and discrimination.
4. Improving the quality of population control and quality family planning

Similarly, the city of Singkawang is working to strengthen and advance women's rights in accordance with the RPJMD. For example, consider the Gender Mainstreaming and Women's Empowerment Program. This program incorporates a gender perspective into all planning, policies, and regional development activities, ensuring that women's needs are adequately addressed in development documents and budgets. This includes gender analysis in all programs and activities to ensure gender responsiveness. The primary goal is to ensure that women have equal access to, participation in, and benefits from development.

The RPJMD also outlines plans to strengthen and advance women's rights in Semarang from 2025 to 2029. It includes priority programs from the Mayor specifically for women, carried out through women's and children's *musrenbang* activities in villages and sub-districts, strengthening the role of the PKK, and Posyandu 6 SPM, all of which are part of Mission 1. The goal of this mission is to increase gender equality using the Gender Development Index Indicator. Several priority programs focus on optimising women's empowerment activities in the context of gender equality and child protection, including:

- a. Organization of the Women's and Children's Congress
- b. Encouraging the establishment of Child, Women, and Disability Protection Houses in Every District

- c. Formation of Women-Friendly and Child-Caring Villages (KRPPA)
- d. Economic empowerment program for vulnerable women (job training)
- e. Assistance for victims of violence against women and children in the form of legal aid services and legal accompaniment
- f. Preparation of Support System for Sports and Arts Competitions, as well as Young Innovators

Even in 2025, the Semarang City Government issued the Semarang Mayor's Decree Number 400.2/682 of 2025, which addressed the Award for Gender-Responsive Figures in Semarang City.

Thus, the cities at the top of the IKT 2025 not only perform well in managing diversity and freedom of religion/belief, but they also have a strong tendency to mainstream gender perspectives in regional development agendas. This shows that tolerance is more than just one issue; it intersects with broader principles of inclusivity, such as gender equality.

Optimistically, this finding demonstrates that tolerance and gender equality are not opposing goals, but rather mutually reinforcing. Cities that consistently implement inclusive policies across dimensions demonstrate that the direction of rights-based and diversity-based development is not only normative, but also has an impact on overall social cohesion.

3.2.2. VARIABLE 2: SOCIAL REGULATION

Variable 2 consists of indicator 3 on intolerance events and indicator 4 on civil society dynamics. Based on the Social Regulation variable, the 2025 TCI study compiled a list of the 10 (ten) cities with the highest scores, namely:

Table 3
10 Cities with the Highest Scores in Variable 2: Social Regulation

TCI Rank 2025	City	Ind 3	Ind 4	Score	Variable Ranking
3	Semarang	6,50	7,00	6,750	1
2	Singkawang	7,00	6,00	6,500	2
4	Pematangsiantar	7,00	6,00	6,500	3
1	Salatiga	6,50	6,00	6,250	4
14	Surabaya	6,50	6,00	6,250	5
19	Malang	6,50	6,00	6,250	6
18	Yogyakarta	6,00	6,00	6,000	7
13	Banjarmasin	6,00	6,00	6,000	8
5	Bekasi	6,00	6,00	6,000	9
6	Sukabumi	7,00	5,00	6,000	10

The dynamics of city rankings in this variable demonstrate that the position of the top ten cities does not guarantee that these cities will maintain the same rank when a per-variable mapping is performed. Instead, per-variable mapping reveals that cities' strengths and weaknesses are unique and not always evenly distributed across all assessment dimensions.

When viewing the results for this variable, the dynamics become clear. Semarang actually ranks first, despite being in third place overall. Salatiga, which ranks first overall, comes in fourth on this variable. This distinction emphasises that superior overall performance does not always imply dominance in all variables. Salatiga continues to perform well, but there are some dimensions in which other cities outperform. The same is true for Bekasi City and Sukabumi City, which ranked ninth and tenth respectively in this variable.

Furthermore, cities ranked in the top ten overall, such as Semarang, Salatiga, and Bekasi, are not immune to incidents of intolerance. This is because the scores on indicator 3 for intolerant incidents in these cities are not perfect (score 7). It should be noted that in those cities in 2025, policy favouritism continues to result in limited rights and economic access for the community during Ramadan.

Even more critically, such policies can justify various unofficial sweeps by specific groups against the community's economic hubs. Meanwhile, the city of Bekasi has a history of expressing majoritarianism in its society toward various groups, resulting in the rejection of those groups' activities. Thus, it is critical to recognise that tolerance is a process that is constantly tested. Cities with high scores still need to be vigilant, strengthen preventive mechanisms, and ensure that inclusive policies are implemented consistently.

Meanwhile, the top ten cities overall, including Singkawang, Pematangsiantar, and Sukabumi, demonstrate the tolerance ecosystem's stability by scoring 7 on indicator 3. This high score reflects not only the absence of significant barriers, but also the positive interactions between local government policies, law enforcement responses, and active civil society participation in preserving freedom and social cohesion.

Another intriguing feature of this variable is the inclusion of four cities ranked outside the top ten, namely Surabaya, Malang, Banjarmasin, and Yogyakarta. Although intolerant incidents continue to occur in each city, they do not immediately undermine the foundation of tolerance that has been established. When the analysis is combined with other indicators, it becomes clear that each incident is typically addressed through dialogue mechanisms, proportional rule enforcement, and the involvement of civil society actors. A prompt and open response prevents incidents from escalating into long-term conflicts or institutionalised patterns of discrimination.

However, those cities must strengthen preventive measures. A good response to incidents is necessary, but prevention is far more important in creating a long-term tolerance ecosystem. Preventive efforts demonstrate that local governments and stakeholders do not wait for conflicts to arise. To develop an effective early warning system and mediation mechanisms, the government, law enforcement, religious leaders, communities, and civil society must work together.

Surabaya, for example, exemplifies social cohesion among its residents through community-built meeting spaces. On Thursday, May 20, 2025, Yayasan Pondok Kasih (YPK) held a soft opening of the Taman Bhinneka Nusantara Creativity Center (NCC) to celebrate the 117th National Awakening Day and promote tolerance. More than 500 people attended, including government officials, interfaith leaders, cultural figures, academics, and representatives from various ethnic organisations in East Java. The event in Surabaya began with the provision of assistance to orphans as a demonstration of care, followed by the establishment of Taman Bhinneka.

The 17 August 1945 Educational Foundation (YPTA) Surabaya is once again playing an important role in strengthening the national character and tolerance of the next generation. The campus is also participating. Indika Foundation, in collaboration with Global Peace Youth Surabaya and the Career and Alumni Empowerment Center (PKKA) of Airlangga University (UNAIR), hosted the Mini Booth Camp. On Saturday, September 20, 2025, the event was titled “Freedom of Belief and Culture of Tolerance.”

Furthermore, the top ten cities in this variable have demonstrated the consolidation of societal leadership, which is essential for a tolerance ecosystem. In many cases, societal leadership serves as a link between government policy and social reality, ensuring that the commitment to tolerance extends beyond official documents and into citizens’ daily interactions.

Solid community leadership also increases a city’s social

resilience. When conflicts or disagreements arise, there are individuals and social institutions capable of calming, mediating, and directing a peaceful resolution. Thus, tolerance is the result of mature social relations and inclusive collective leadership, as well as policy design.

In Semarang, for instance, the ecosystem of tolerance is being developed not only through regulations and political commitment, but also through works in community spaces and lives. Thousands of citizens from various religions and belief systems gathered at the National Concert “Melody of Harmony Building the Nation” at Holy Stadium Semarang on October 1, 2025. The atmosphere of enthusiasm and togetherness enveloped the event organized by the Patriot Cinta Indonesia Foundation. Cross-identity encounters in cultural spaces like this have strategic significance, namely building emotional solidarity among citizens, strengthening a sense of belonging to the city, and affirming that differences can be celebrated in a warm and inclusive atmosphere.

In a different context, the practice of tolerance is evident through humanitarian social actions. A number of children also brought free meals, which were distributed by Piring Kasih volunteers in the courtyard of St. Theresia Bongsari Catholic Church on December 18, 2025. The social action, which takes place every Thursday, provides approximately 400 portions of food initiated by the church with the goal of reducing the burden on underprivileged communities while also fostering a sense of harmony among various religious groups. This momentum is also part of the Christmas 2025 celebration, but its significance extends beyond religion, demonstrating that social solidarity transcends identity barriers.

Then, in Salatiga, civil society plays a significant role. The efforts to achieve social inclusion are inextricably linked to the contributions of community leaders and interfaith figures, both personally and through institutions such as FKUB, FPK, PC NU, PD Muhammadiyah, the Salatiga Church Cooperation Board

(BKGS), and academics from higher education institutions. Their presence and involvement act as a social bridge, strengthening communication between communities, encouraging dialogue, and increasing understanding when dealing with sensitive issues.

Higher education institutions play an important role in fostering a culture of tolerance in the city. Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana and UIN Salatiga provide true diversity by attracting students from various regions of Indonesia with diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. These cross-identity interactions occur naturally on campus and in urban social spaces, promoting inclusive living habits.

In Yogyakarta, the DIAN/Interfidei Institute organises the Tanah Air itu Bhinneka (TAB) Batch VI event. The program, which ran from November 24 to 28, aimed to prepare Indonesian youth to serve as peace ambassadors in the face of growing threats to diversity, democracy, and social justice. The Indonesian Communion of Churches (PGI), Mission21, GPIB Marga Mulya Yogyakarta, and the DIAN/Interfidei Institute collaborated to bring 30 young people from various religious, belief, and cultural backgrounds to Yogyakarta for the event. Social cohesion in Yogyakarta was also demonstrated when the HKTY Pugeran Jogja Church shared Ramadan iftar snacks on Bantul Street.

Civil society dynamics in Banjarmasin also help to accelerate the spread of tolerance. The Religious Expo activities also incorporate a campaign to promote tolerance and express concern for the environment. Similarly, the Interfaith Generation Z in Banjarmasin organises river cleanups and tree planting at places of worship. Hundreds of young people from various religions worked together to clean up the Martapura River and perform environmental care at religious sites. FKUB also engages in various dialogues with the community about diversity moderation and promotes regional tolerance regulations.

3.2.3. VARIABLE 3: GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

Based on the Government Action variable, the 2025 TCI produced 10 (ten) cities with the highest scores, namely:

Table 4
10 Cities with the Highest Scores in Variable 3: Government Actions

TCI Rank 2024	City	Ind 5	Ind 6	Skor	Ranking Variables
1	Salatiga	6,00	7,00	6,500	1
2	Singkawang	6,00	7,00	6,500	3
5	Bekasi	6,00	7,00	6,500	2
10	Ambon	6,00	7,00	6,500	5
12	Surakarta	6,00	7,00	6,500	9
17	Bandung	6,00	7,00	6,500	4
3	Semarang	6,00	6,00	6,000	6
4	Pematangsiantar	6,00	6,00	6,000	7
7	Magelang	6,00	6,00	6,000	8
8	Kediri	6,00	6,00	6,000	10

In the context of promoting tolerance at the local level, the concrete actions and statements of key city government officials have significance that far exceeds mere administrative functions. At the political level of governance, they are norm entrepreneurs who shape the direction of public discourse and determine policy priorities. The statements and actions of the mayor shape the normative climate of the city: whether the city becomes an inclusive living space or an exclusive one.

The mayor’s public statements are political signalling. When a mayor expresses a clear commitment to religious freedom,

minority group protection, and anti-discrimination, that statement becomes a standard for the bureaucracy, local security forces, and society. Similarly, concrete actions can be taken through derivative regulations, circular letters, performance indicators for regional apparatus, and the incorporation of tolerance into the RPJMD. Without structural integration, tolerance will be reduced to a ceremonial agenda.

In that context, the performance of cities in this variable is important to highlight. High performance in the government action variable indicates responsive leadership and institutional courage. Commitment to tolerance extends beyond vision and regulations to concrete policy measures and administrative responses. Furthermore, high scores indicate relatively good coordination among regional heads, bureaucratic apparatus, and law enforcement officials.

As shown in the table above, the majority of cities in this category are among the top ten with the highest tolerance scores. This condition confirms and validates city governments' performance in promoting tolerance, as well as demonstrating the synergistic and strong performance of tolerant leadership by political and bureaucratic leadership in advancing tolerance through structural pathways.

For example, in Salatiga, the City Government oversees the implementation of that development vision. The Mayor and other key regional officials' efforts to promote tolerance do not end with the dissemination of ideas or normative statements. Although consistent leadership that speaks to the value of inclusivity in various public forums is an important foundation and government commitment, this commitment is also manifested in the Mayor's attendance at various religious celebrations and activities of diverse religious groups. Not just as a ceremonial guest, but as a representative of the state that ensures equal rights and safety for all citizens.

The city government also organises interfaith and intercommunity gatherings, such as the Mayor's dialogue with city officials and 160 religious leaders of all faiths in Salatiga. Dialogue forums, national discussions, and social collaborations all serve as platforms for constructive interactions between groups. These spaces are important as early warning systems against potential conflict, as well as for building interpersonal trust among citizens and institutional trust between citizens and the government.

Salatiga City Government's plan to build a Religious Tourism Park (TWR) in Bugel Village, Sidorejo District, is one example of inclusive development. A place of worship for all religions, including Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, is planned for the location. Furthermore, the enhancement of tolerance governance is reflected in inclusive and nondiscriminatory administrative practices. Salatiga City's National Unity and Politics Agency (Bakesbangpol) has received an application to notify the existence of the community organization *Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia* (MLKI), to the DPRD Salatiga City, with number 200.1.4.4/660 signed on December 4, 2025.

The acceptance and registration confirm that the aforementioned mass organization is recorded in Salatiga City's official register data. Administratively, this step demonstrates state recognition, in this case through local government, of the existence of religious adherents as a legitimate part of the population with the right to associate and organise. Such registration has some significant implications for diversity governance. Because it addresses not only procedural issues, but also the city government's commitment to ensuring that all segments of society, including belief groups, receive equal treatment in public services and administrative recognition. This is consistent with the principles of nondiscrimination and the protection of citizens' constitutional rights.

Bakesbangpol of Salatiga City's progressiveness in promoting tolerance is also demonstrated by the strengthening of harmony forums in the sub-districts, particularly those involving young people. BaKesbangpol has also endorsed the following youth-led harmony forums:

1. Decision of the Head of Bakesbangpol Salatiga City No. 200.2.44/167/2023 regarding the Ratification of the Management of the Forum for Young Generations of Religious Harmony (*Legenda Utama*) Institution in Tingkir District, Salatiga City.
2. Decision of the Head of Bakesbangpol Salatiga City No. 200.1.44/224.2 regarding the Ratification of the Management of the Interfaith Youth Forum (FPLA) Sidorejo District, Salatiga City
3. Decision of the Head of Bakesbangpol Salatiga City No. 200.1.44/224.3 regarding the Ratification of the Management of the Interfaith Youth Forum (FPLA) Sidomukti District, Salatiga City
4. Decision of the Head of Bakesbangpol Salatiga City No. 200.1.4.4/224.4 regarding the Ratification of the Management of the Interfaith Youth Forum (FPLA) Argomulyo District, Salatiga City.

The drafting of a Regional Regulation on the Implementation of Inclusive Governance is one of the progressive innovations currently underway in Singkawang and will continue throughout 2025. This initiative demonstrates that Singkawang's commitment to tolerance extends beyond social and symbolic practices to a more systematic and robust normative framework, as outlined in Mayor Regulation No. 129 of 2021 on the Implementation of Community Tolerance.

The draft regional regulation clearly demonstrates that inclusivity is understood not only as the relationship between religious communities in Salatiga City, but also as a principle and component of public services, citizen participation, development planning, and local decision-making. This draft regional regulation has been through facilitation stages by the Legal Bureau of West Kalimantan Province to ensure compliance with legislative provisions, and it is now in the second-level session stage at the Singkawang City DPRD for further discussion and determination. If this regional regulation is passed, Singkawang will join a small group of Indonesian cities that already have specific tolerance or inclusive governance regulations.

Political leadership is critical to promoting tolerance in the city of Singkawang. Because the Mayor's leadership is narrative and transformative, rather than just administrative. In various formal and informal agendas, the concept of inclusivity and coexistence is consistently presented as a common thread in the city's development. Tolerance is not treated as a side issue, but rather as the foundation of governance and Singkawang's collective identity.

The Mayor actively promotes diversity as a social asset. Its strength stems from its consistency and size. The Mayor's presence at various celebrations and religious activities has a strong symbolic meaning. This demonstrates that the city government stands above all groups, creating a safe space for all expressions of faith and culture, and sending a clear political message that Singkawang is a shared home.

Meanwhile, in Bekasi, the progressive nature of budget allocation requires attention. In 2025, the Bekasi City Government has allocated a fantastic budget of 2.4 billion to FKUB. This figure is significant when compared to many other cities that provide much lower budget support for similar institutions, despite differences in capacity and regional APBD sizes. The Bekasi City Government also allocated 400 million and 500 million, respectively, for FPK and FKDM.

The size of the allocation can be interpreted as a strong signal of the local government's commitment to strengthening the infrastructure of social tolerance. The budget allocation for FKUB demonstrates recognition of the forum's critical role in facilitating dialogue, mediation, and recommendations regarding the establishment of places of worship and other sensitive issues. Meanwhile, support for FPK and FKDM improves social vigilance and community resilience.

However, it should be noted that the size of the nominal amount does not necessarily correlate with the substantive impact on the ground. Equally important is how the budget is translated into inclusive work programs that reach out to vulnerable groups while also effectively strengthening social cohesion.

Next, in the city of Semarang, the Mayor has repeatedly stated that Semarang is a shared home that all citizens must maintain. The message about the importance of coexistence, rejecting hate speech, and cultivating a spirit of diversity is repeated and emphasised. Thus, the aspect of tolerance regulation that has been strengthened by regional regulations and mayoral decrees does not exist in a vacuum.

Such implementations of progressive legal policies on tolerance receives political energy and moral legitimation through various commitments on tolerance, which are consistently expressed by the Mayor of Semarang in several occasions and public fora. For instances, in interfaith activities by meeting with various religious

figures through interactive dialogues, either in open house events during religious holidays, cultural festivals, *ogoh-ogoh* carnivals, and many more.

Strong budgetary expenditures and the acknowledgment of local residents and religious leaders are other indications of Semarang's dedication to promoting tolerance. In terms of funding, the Semarang Municipal Government gave the FKUB a grant of IDR 800,000,000 in 2025 to support initiatives that foster interreligious tolerance, such as interfaith discussion, recommendations for house of worship establishments, and cross-religious educational programs.

On the aspect of religious-based appreciation, the Mayor of Semarang dispatched 105 participants on an interfaith religious pilgrimage. The participants, drawn from four religious communities, were assigned to different destinations: 80 Muslim participants departed for Mecca and Medina, 20 Christian and Catholic participants were scheduled to travel to Turkey, 3 Hindu participants and 2 Buddhist participants were directed to India.

Pematangsiantar has once again exhibited favorable political leadership, which is an extremely valuable social and political asset, especially when it comes to the dynamics of leadership transitions. Because the established foundational values and practices have proven to be rather durable to change, even in the face of the political transformation that followed the change in leadership. This suggests that tolerance in Pematangsiantar has started to become institutionalized within the city's social life and governing culture rather than being personalistic and connected to the previous leader.

One indicator of the continuity of the tolerance vision in Pematangsiantar's leadership is reflected in the consistent pattern of public presence and communication of its leader, to be present for all, without identity barriers. This is evident in participation in the 2025 Chinese New Year safari visits to temples in Pematangsiantar,

a thanksgiving worship service with the GPIB Maranatha congregation, a thanksgiving gathering with the leadership of the GKPS synod, a community walk with Al-Wasliyah Pematangsiantar, and a fraternal visit with the FKUB leadership. These presences are by no means mere ceremonial gestures, but rather a clear political message that the municipal government stands above all community groups.

With respect to budgetary allocation, this commitment is demonstrated through the provision of a sufficiently adequate grant to the Pematangsiantar FKUB, amounting to IDR 300 million. Accordingly, in Pematangsiantar, the continuity of the tolerance vision does not reside solely in policy documents or index achievements, but also in the symbolic and communicative practices that are consistently maintained.

In the regulatory context, the municipal government in 2025 is in the process of drafting a Draft Regional Regulation (*Rancangan Peraturan Daerah/Raperda*) on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life. This initiative was preceded by the issuance of Mayoral Decree No. 001/100.3.3.3/794/II-2025 on the Drafting Team for the Pematangsiantar Regional Regulation on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life.

Not only seen as progressive, but the drafting of the Regulation has a strategic meaning in the context of sustainability of the ecosystem of tolerance in the city, due to it being complementary to the foundations supported by political leaderships. Without such institutionalized legal structure, this achievement would potentially become vulnerable to political dynamics and change of leadership.

Nevertheless, the progressive development of this regulatory framework was fundamentally established as early as 2023, with the issuance of Pematangsiantar Mayoral Regulation No. 20 of 2023 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life, and Pematangsiantar Mayoral Instruction No. 3 of 2023 on the Implementation of Religious Tolerance Enhancement, Strengthening of Pancasila Ideology, and National Wisdom in

Realizing Pematangsiantar as a Tolerant City.

This commitment was further reinforced in 2024 with the introduction of additional legal instruments that are promotive of tolerance advancement, specifically addressing violent extremism leading to terrorism. Through these legal instruments, the Pematangsiantar municipal government has established an integrated team as well as a Regional Action Plan (*Rencana Aksi Daerah/RAD*) on the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2024. The legal instruments in question are as follows:

- (1) Mayoral Decree No. 002.3/200.1.3.1/1146/VII/2024 on the Integrated Team for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2024; and
- (2) Mayoral Decree No. 002.3/200.1.3.1/1147/VII/2024 on the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2024.

As with Semarang, these regulations on tolerance and the Regional Action Plan on Terrorism Prevention reflect an end-to-end integration within tolerance governance. Their synergy forms an ecosystem that not only preserves social harmony, but also strengthens the city's resilience against more complex threats of intolerance.

Meanwhile for Kediri, through its Mayor, it further commits to the protection of harmony and tolerance by conducting collective dialogues. In realizing Kediri's mission as a MAPAN city, an acronym denoting Advanced, Religious, Productive, Safe, and Endearing (*Maju, Agamis, Produktif, Aman, dan Ngangeni*), it continues to strengthen collaboration between the municipal government, Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kankemenag), and the FKUB. This is reflected in a FORKOPIMDA Gathering with Religious Figures, Community Leaders, and FKUB, held at MAN 2 Kediri and attended by approximately 200 participants from various community elements. In attendance were the Mayor of Kediri, the Deputy Mayor, the Community Leaders, interfaith

religious figures, university rectors, and community representatives from various areas of Kediri.

Therefore, it can be understood that 7 out of 10 cities in this variable belong to the 10 cities that are regularly achieving high tolerance scores. Those cities, as deliberated previously, enhance their ecosystem of tolerance through visions of tolerance and promotive regulations on tolerance. On the other hand, there is 1 emerging city of the overall top 10 that is one of the high achievers in this variable, which is Ambon, and 2 cities outside of the overall top 10, which are Surakarta and Bandung.

In the context of Ambon, political leadership plays a pivotal role in the reconsolidation of the tolerance ecosystem within the city. The Mayor's leadership functions as both a direction setter and a tone setter in the advancement of tolerance in Ambon. This is evident in the Mayor of Ambon's repeated affirmations of commitment to ensuring that Ambon remains a welcoming city for all its citizens, irrespective of religious, ethnic, or other social identity backgrounds.

Such an endorsement is consistently expressed in a number of public forums that the mayor attends, and it extends beyond formal declarations. Such speeches and public behavior are important in fostering tolerance ideals because they send a strong political message that the municipal government is superior to other community groups and ensures that everyone has an equal place to live.

Improvement of the ecosystem of tolerance was also pursued through the collaboration between the Ambon Municipal Government and the Rumah Generasi Foundation in relation to the implementation of the Australia–Indonesia Partnership for an Inclusive Society Program (INKLUSI) in November 2025. Through this collaboration, the Ambon Municipal Government committed to strengthening protection and service efforts for vulnerable groups toward the realization of an inclusive and sustainable city. In efforts to foster harmonization and strengthen interreligious tolerance,

a religious moderation village (*kampung moderasi beragama*) was also established in Ambon in 2025, alongside the provision of incentives for house of worship caretakers, including religious custodians, mosque caretakers (*marbot*), church sextons (*kostor*), temple guardians, monastery caretakers, and other associated personnel. Of the 648 verified houses of worship, a total of 800 incentive recipients were recorded, each of whom will receive the designated amount.

Bandung and Surakarta are equally impressive for their progressive innovations within this variable. Both cities introduced tolerance-promoting legal instruments at the level of Regional Regulations (*Peraturan Daerah/Perda*) in 2025. The Surakarta Municipal Government enacted Surakarta City Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2025 on the Organization of Societal Tolerance, while the Bandung Municipal Government enacted Bandung City Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2025 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life.

Enactment of these regional regulations marks the institutionalization of tolerance values within a formal legal framework, ensuring that the commitment to diversity is not merely a political vision but possesses a binding normative foundation. Given that comparatively few local governments have specifically created legislation to support and safeguard inclusive community life, tolerance regional regulations may be considered unique tools. Only six cities, which are Mojokerto, Banjarmasin, Tegal, Salatiga, Surakarta, and Bandung, were listed as having tolerance regional regulations as of the 2025 TCI compilation.

Even though Surakarta and Bandung have laws pertaining to tolerance, these laws do not automatically protect both cities from intolerance. This is crucial so that those regulations are not perceived as a “final guarantee,” but rather as an instrument that must be continuously used through consistent implementation. In this context, the incident that occurs does not only serve as

a weakness indicator, but it also serves as an indicator of the consistency of the norms that have been established jointly.

3.3. HIGHEST RANKING CITIES WITH MORE THAN 1 MILLION RESIDENTS

By considering the complexity in the governance of tolerance and diversity in cities with large populations, SETARA Institute provides a new ranking based on the number of residents. This approach was taken from the consideration that population density and demographic heterogeneity offer different challenges in governance compared to cities with smaller populations.

Population-based ranking is not intended to replace the aggregate ranking, but rather to provide a more equitable and proportional reading of tolerance performance. Large cities are assessed within the context of the burdens and complexities they face, so that tolerance achievements may be understood in light of the scale of challenges confronted. Within this category, SETARA Institute researchers identify 10 cities with a population exceeding 1,000,000. The 10 cities that achieved the highest rankings within the population exceeding 1,000,000 category are as follows:

Tabel 5
10 Highest Scoring Cities with Large Populations

No	City	Population	TCI 2025 Ranking
1	Semarang	1.708.830 jiwa	3
2	Bekasi	2.627.210 jiwa	7
3	Surabaya	3.009.286 jiwa	14
4	Jakarta	11.135.191 jiwa	15
5	Bandung	2.579.837 jiwa	17
6	Bogor	1.137.018 jiwa	25

No	City	Population	TCI 2025 Ranking
7	Medan	2.524.341 jiwa	33
8	Palembang	1.801.367 jiwa	41
9	Makassar	1.526.677 jiwa	52
10	Batam	1.329.773 jiwa	55

The existence of the cities shown in the above table, especially those in the top 20 (Semarang, Bekasi, Surabaya, Jakarta, and Bandung), shows that a huge population demography does not prevent the development of a strong tolerance ecology. Conversely, in the context of metropolitan and megapolitan cities, these accomplishments are particularly significant since they result from the handling of far higher levels of social complexity.

Jakarta, as the largest region with the biggest population, shall be paid attention to. Besides ranking 15th overall, the city's development plan also places issues on tolerance as one of its focuses. This is reflected in one of the objectives of its Development Mission 1, namely "Strengthening Cultural Values, Democracy, and Societal Diversity". The expected outcome of this objective is a strong cultural inclusion that serves as a foundation for human development and community participation in development. Several strategies that are promotive of tolerance advancement have been identified, namely:

- (1) Eradicating Social and Cultural Discrimination;
- (2) Increasing social cohesiveness to prevent social conflicts;
and
- (3) Proliferating the society's internalization of the Pancasila ideology.

The Jakarta Provincial Government has gone so far as to set the ambitious target of establishing the nation's capital as a global city, with interreligious tolerance as its primary foundation. This strategic step constitutes a foremost priority of Governor Pramono Anung in building an inclusive and harmonious Jakarta.

Surabaya, the city with the second-largest population, is likewise ranked 14th among places with the highest tolerance scores. The Mayor of Surabaya has frequently reiterated his dedication to maintaining harmony in the face of variety, urging all Surabaya residents, regardless of their ethnic or religious origin, to work together to advance the city in a culture of strong tolerance.

According to the Mayor, Surabaya represents a microcosm of Indonesia, as various ethnic groups including Javanese, Batak, Madurese, Ambonese, Palembang, and numerous others coexist alongside adherents of various religions in a spirit of mutual respect. "Unity and solidarity are therefore non-negotiable," the Mayor firmly stated.

In big cities, social friction can potentially appear in various spots, triggered by economic competition, segregation of residences, political polarization, and digital space dynamics. Due to that, the ability to preserve social cohesion amidst social complexity shows that there are adequate leadership capacities, adaptive public policies, as well as relatively solid civil society participation. In other words, tolerance in big cities is not a natural condition, but a result of conscious and sustainable collective work for it.

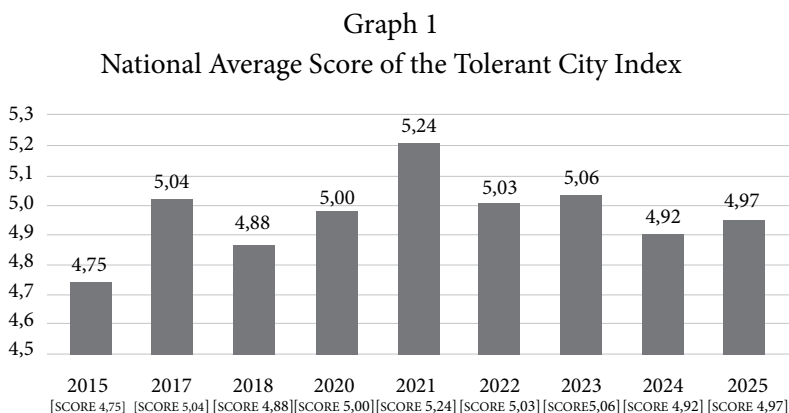
The collaboration between political leadership, bureaucratic leadership, and societal leadership has increasingly yielded optimal results in terms of tolerance advancement achievements. This is particularly evident in the inclusion of Semarang and Bekasi within the top 10 rankings of the 2025 TCI, continuing the positive trend established in both the 2024 and 2023 TCI.[]

CHAPTER IV

TRENDS AND DYNAMICS OF URBAN TOLERANCE IN 2025

4.1. 2025 TCI NATIONAL AVERAGE

SETARA Institute conducted a cumulative calculation to measure the TCI's national average. Throughout 9 instances of indexing study, which include the 2025 TCI, the national averages are as follows:



Source: TCI Research Team 2015-2025

Graph 1 above depicts the state of tolerance since the first TCI publication in 2015, when the score stood at 4.75, reaching its highest point in 2021 with a score of 5.24. The national average for 2025 stands at 4.97, reflecting an increase of 0.05 from the 2024 national average score of 4.92. As with the 2024 category, the national average of 4.97 on a scale of 1-7 continues to indicate that tolerance in Indonesia is at a reasonably good level, reflecting a status of continuous improvement.

Such improvement is seen as a positive trend, despite an enhancement made for the 2nd Indicator since 2024. Previously, Indicator 2 only took discriminative regulations into consideration, while in the 2024 TCI promotive regulations on tolerance has been adopted and become a part of the Indicator ever since. Therefore, cities with promotive regulations will receive better scores, and *vice versa*.

Improvements in various indicators have become the positive trend and have been captured since the 2023 TCI, which is the growth in the number of promotive urban policies for tolerance.

In 2025, this trend has progressively continued through promulgations of various regional regulations, such as:

1. Regional Regulation of Bandung City No. 13 of 2025 on the Organisation of Tolerance in Community Life
2. Regional Regulation of Surakarta City No. 15 of 2025 on the Organisation of Tolerance in Community Life
3. Regional Regulation of Sukabumi City No. 20 of 2025 on the Organisation of Tolerance in Community Life
4. Mayor of Pontianak City Regulation No. 96 of 2025 on the Prevention and Resolution of Intolerance in Community Life.

The existence of three Regional Regulations and a Mayoral Regulation on tolerance are the important foundations in

institutionalising values of diversity locally. Despite being different from the regional executive (or Mayoral Regulation), Regional Regulation holds a stronger position due to its creation process being done with both the executive and the legislature. Therefore, it reflects a wider political consensus as well as stronger, more resilient legal impact in the regional legal system.

Meanwhile, other cities still primarily use Mayoral Regulations. Although those regulations are still important and necessary as the operational basis for tolerance, the character of their implementations are still administrative and dependent on the authority of their executives. In other words, the continuity will be relatively volatile when the regulations are faced with the change of leadership compared to Regional Regulations, which have gone through the legislation process in the respective DPRD.

This series of legal instruments reflects a strengthening paradigm shift, that tolerance is no longer understood merely as a social issue left to the dynamics of society, but has become a policy agenda institutionalized through legal instruments. Such a trend demonstrates that cities are beginning to recognize the importance of building a strong normative foundation as part of a sustainable tolerance ecosystem. This also reflects well-established political leadership and bureaucratic leadership in maintaining and developing the tolerance ecosystem.

This trend does not stop there. In 2025, numerous cities are also in the process of adopting the Draft Regional Regulations and Draft Mayoral Regulations that are promotive towards the development of tolerance, such as:

1. Pematangsiantar – drafting the Regional Regulations on Tolerance;
2. Singkawang – drafting the Regional Regulations on Inclusive Governance;
3. Depok – drafting the Regional Regulations on Human Rights;
4. Bandung – drafting the Regional Regulations on Social Diversity; and
5. Makassar – drafting the Mayoral Regulations on Fostering Harmony and Cohesion in Community Life in Makassar City.

As a manifestation of its commitment, the Pematangsiantar Municipal Government has issued Mayoral Decree No. 001/100.3.3.3/794/II-2025 on the Drafting Team for the Pematangsiantar Regional Regulation on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life, while the Bandung Municipal Government has similarly issued Mayoral Decree No. 188.342/Kep.894-KUM/2025 on the Drafting Team for the Regional Regulation on Diversity in Community Life in Bandung.

As of the 2025 TCI, a total 65 progressive legal instruments have been recorded in Indonesia, including those grounded in Pancasila and national identity [see Appendix]. Those legal instruments across cities serve as an oasis amid the pervasive proliferation of discriminatory legal instruments in Indonesia. Constitutional rights of citizens, particularly those of religious minorities, are rendered increasingly vulnerable to erosion, as discriminatory legal instruments function as instruments of legitimization for the erosion of such rights by both state and non-state actors. According to further analysis by SETARA Institute, one of the main obstacles to inclusion in Indonesia, a situation that is mostly based in intolerance, is discriminatory legal frameworks at the state level.

Pervasive increase in discriminatory regulations is reflected in data from the Komnas Perempuan, which recorded 421 discriminatory legal instruments as of 2016, of which 165 were found to violate FoRB and obstruct the path toward interreligious tolerance. Meanwhile, SETARA Institute has documented 71 regional regulations that are intolerant against FoRB, as well as 72 regulations that specifically discriminate against the Ahmadiyya Indonesia congregation, spanning from the national to the regional level. This indicates that the full realization of a beneficial religious life is still pending. The persistence of intolerable acts that disguise themselves as public agreements or manifestations of majoritarianism is facilitated by the normative legality of these discriminating legal tools.

Due to that, there needs to be further encouragement to comprehensively plan on the development of the ecosystem of tolerance,

such as the development of regulations.

In the policy tools on Guidelines for the Implementation of Inclusive Governance, SETARA Institute (2018) formulates strategic steps that can assist in the elimination of intolerance and discrimination, including with respect to discriminatory policies, as follows:

1. Establishing an accountable mechanism for regional regulation formation by enhancing the quality of public participation, which may be achieved through:
 - Involving the public, including individuals, academics, religious figures, community leaders, and NGOs, as part of the drafting team or working group for regional regulation formation;
 - Conducting public hearings or inviting the public to participate in regional regulation drafting sessions;
 - Conducting validity tests with competent and capable parties to obtain responses to draft regional regulations;
 - Conducting workshops on draft regional regulations prior to their formal deliberation by the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD);
 - Publishing draft regional regulations to the wider public in order to obtain public feedback.
2. Reviewing existing regional regulations that contain discriminatory elements, through the following mechanisms:
 - For legal instruments in the form of Mayoral Regulations, local governments must initiate a direct political review mechanism to revise norms deemed discriminatory.
 - For legal instruments in the form of City Regional Regulations, the mayor must take the initiative to conduct a legislative review through the legislative mechanism of the City's DPRD.
 - Local governments must undertake immediate remediation

for community groups whose rights have been infringed upon as a result of the application of discriminatory regional regulations.

3. Establishing a dedicated desk within local government tasked with assessing the constitutionality of regional regulations

Within the framework of the Indonesia 2045 Vision, the central government must also assume a role in and ensure alignment between the central and regional levels. Plans, policies, and intervention programs for maintaining harmony must be translated from the national to the regional level. To ensure this, Provincial Governments, with the Governor acting as the representative of the Central Government in the regions within the framework of Deconcentration, must be encouraged to assume a role and participate in the orchestration of tolerance ecosystem development, extending not only to cities but also to the regencies within their respective provinces.

Those initiatives were able to be exercised due to the influence of provinces that pioneered the adoption of promotive regulations on tolerance, either through the implementation of the aforementioned regulations or by pushing surrounding cities/regencies to adopt similar rules. For instance, the Central Java Provincial Government promulgates a Regional Regulation No. 37 of 2022 on the Synergy in Strengthening Interfaith Harmony in the Central Java Province, as well as the Governor Regulation No. 35 on 2022 on the Regional Action Plan on the Prevention and Mitigation of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism.

Several similar promotive regulations are also being adopted elsewhere, namely the Regional Regulation of East Java Province No. 8 of 2018 on the the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life, Regional Regulation of Central Kalimantan Province No. 12 of 2022 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life, and the Regional Regulation of Maluku Province No. 3 of 2022 on Organization of Tolerance in Community Life. Should the role of the provincial government in organizing tolerance be made more effective, the cities

and regencies would accelerate the development of policies and practices on tolerance in their respective jurisdictions.

Another equally important initiative is exercise of regulatory review on regressive legal instruments towards the development of tolerance at the provincial level. For instance, the West Java Province has the Governor Regulation No. 12 of 2011 on the Prohibition of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community’s Activities in West Java. While in East Java, the Gubernatorial Decree No. 188/94/KPTS/013/2011 with similar prohibitions for the East Java Province. Another one is in the Banten Province, with its Governor Regulation No. 5 of 2011 on similar matters. Further prohibitions on Ahmadiyya activities are also being imposed in several other regions, such as in Bengkulu Province through the Governor Regulation No. 11/2011, and South Sumatra through the Gubernatorial Decree No. 563/KPTS/BAN. KESBANGPOL&LINMAS/2008.

**4.2. DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF THE TOP 10
HIGHEST-SCORING CITIES**

Shifting dynamics have been the recurring theme for top 10 cities of the overall TCI ranking. It has continued to recur in this year’s TCI, despite 8 out of 10 cities being the same cities ranking top 10 in the 2024 TCI, but with 2 newcomers, there have been significant changes in the top 10 ranking. This is apparent when referring to the following table:

Table 6
Dynamics of the Top 10 Cities from 2024 TCI to 2025 TCI

No	Highest Ranking Cities of 2025 TCI	2024 TCI Ranking	Status
1	Salatiga	1	No change
2	Singkawang	2	No change
3	Semarang	3	No change

No	Highest Ranking Cities of 2025 TCI	2024 TCI Ranking	Status
4	Pematang Siantar	5	Gained 1 rank
5	Bekasi	7	Gained 2 ranks
6	Sukabumi	6	No change
7	Magelang	4	Dropped 3 ranks
8	Kediri	8	No change
9	Tegal	39	Gained 30 ranks
10	Ambon	11	Gained 1 rank

The TCI study captures any dynamics of tolerance within those cities. Such dynamics indicate that the top 10 ranking is never stagnant, due to it being occupied by different cities each year. Despite the ever-changing ranking, there are still some cities which are always consistent in that zone.

As reflected in the table above, the top 3 positions in the 2025 TCI remain unchanged from the 2024 TCI. Singkawang, Salatiga, and Semarang continue to occupy the top 3 positions. Meanwhile, Pematangsiantar and Bekasi have each advanced, rising to ranks 4 and 5 respectively. Bekasi has returned to its trajectory following its decline from rank 2 to rank 7 in the 2024 TCI.

Within ranks 6 to 10, Magelang dropped 3 positions to rank 7, necessitating various innovations and breakthroughs in the strengthening of its tolerance ecosystem. Sukabumi and Kediri, meanwhile, maintained their respective rankings from the 2024 TCI. Finally, positions 9 and 10 are occupied by newcomers to the top 10 composition, namely Tegal and Ambon.

Cities in the top 10 ranking in the 2025 TCI have achieved several notable accomplishments, but they come with a price of additional challenges. Being at the top does not mean it is the end of the journey, but it is an entrance to a new phase that demands higher consistency, resilience, and adaptability. In the context of religious tolerance,

retaining a high score is much more challenging than achieving it.

When compared to the top 10 rankings of the inaugural 2015 TCI, only 4 (four) cities appear in common within the top 10 of the 2025 TCI, namely Pematangsiantar, Salatiga, Singkawang, and Ambon. Narrowing this further, only 2 (two) cities have consistently remained within the top 10 zone, namely Salatiga and Singkawang. This is a testament to the well-established and tested tolerance ecosystem in these cities.

In the 2025 TCI study, changes in the composition of the top 10 cities reflect the prevailing dynamics. Manado and Kupang were the two cities that dropped out of the top 10, while Tegal and Ambon appeared as newcomers. This change in composition confirms that achieving tolerance is both competitive and reflective in nature. It is competitive since all cities aim to provide a more inclusive government, and it is reflective because rankings reflect real achievements or shortcomings in ensuring FoRB.

Changes in the composition of the top 10 ranking signal an important thing, that is the need to innovate in the enhancement of the ecosystem of tolerance. Tegal innovated through the Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 on Managing Interfaith Harmony, which is an important indicator as a formal commitment of the municipal government in setting the agenda of tolerance as a governance objective, not merely as a normative discourse.

Articles 5 and 6a of the Regulation emphasizes that every person has the right to freedom of religion and the right to worship accordingly, and that every congregation has the right to develop their religious teachings based on their human dignity. Those provisions ensure strong protection to FoRB locally, as well as being the normative basis of the protection of the rights of the minorities. The promulgation of this Regional Regulation also signals that the municipal government does not hold a passive role in case of social friction, instead it plays a proactive role in constructing frameworks of conflict prevention and enhancement of social harmony through regulatory actions.

In principle, the existence of the Regional Regulation in Tegal shows a shared vision of tolerance between the executive and the legislature. This alignment constitutes a key factor in ensuring that the tolerance advancement agenda does not remain confined to the rhetorical commitments of regional heads, but instead obtains political legitimacy and a legal foundation through a deliberative legislative process. Legislative support strengthens the binding force of regulations while simultaneously opening space for oversight, so that the implementation of regional regulations proceeds in a consistent and accountable manner.

On the other hand, Ambon returns with an ambition as a “Tolerant Ambon City”, which means Ambon as a tolerant city for every ethnic, religion, faith, race, and welcoming to any diversity. Ambon is also committed to be adaptive with the diversity, which is a modality to become a city with substantial cultural development. The Mayor of Ambon has repeatedly affirmed their commitment to guarantee Ambon’s friendliness for every resident, without differentiating their religious, ethnical, or other social identities.

Manado and Kupang, despite being degraded from the top 10 zone, do not necessarily face significant problems in the advancement of tolerance. Their decline is more attributable to a lack of breakthroughs and innovations in tolerance advancement. Such breakthroughs may be achieved through the strengthening of the tolerance ecosystem via specific regulations on tolerance, regulations that are not merely symbolic, but function as normative anchors ensuring that the commitment to tolerance becomes an integral part of governance, rather than merely an informal social practice.

In addition, ensuring that the condition of tolerance in each city must also be an important factor, to prevent any cases of intolerance. This is due to the nature of social cohesion which does not automatically happen, but as a byproduct of a continuous process. In an effort to realize that, strengthening the role of civil society becomes

very essential. Civil society organizations, interfaith communities, educational institutions, youth groups, and local media have strategic positions as the guardians of the values of religious tolerance at the grassroots level. They do not only function as partners of the government in the socialization of policies, but also as parts of the early warning system against cases of intolerance.

Strengthening of political leadership also constitutes a necessary breakthrough. One key aspect of this is the reinforcement of public commitment from key officials, namely the mayor. Such affirmation must not be confined to formal statements, but consistently conveyed across various public fora, whether in governmental activities, interfaith meetings, or social and community agendas. The cultivation of tolerance values through speeches and public conduct is significant, as it conveys a clear political message: that the municipal government stands above all community groups and guarantees an equal shared living space for all.

The dynamics of cities within the top 10 is further reflected in the shifting rankings of cities within that zone, as exemplified by Bekasi's rise from rank 7 to rank 5. This progress was triggered by the improvements in the role of the community through various community meeting spaces and dialogues from the collaboration between FKUB Bekasi, PERWALA, FORMULA, Interfaith Students Group (PELITA), and various higher education institutions. Alongside that, the government's action to improve tolerance has been carried out through Road Show for Tolerance, and the push for state apparatus to raise their awareness on anti-intolerance. However, there are still some cases of intolerance that need to be paid attention to, despite both quantitatively and qualitatively the cases have decreased since the 2024 TCI.

Pematangsiantar has continued to climb the rankings through various innovations, reaching rank 4 in the 2025 TCI. Furthermore, in 2025, the municipal government is in the process of drafting a regional regulation specifically on tolerance, having taken the initial step of issuing Mayoral Decree No. 001/100.3.3.3/794/II-2025 on the Drafting Team for the Pematangsiantar Regional Regulation on the

Organization of Tolerance in Community Life.

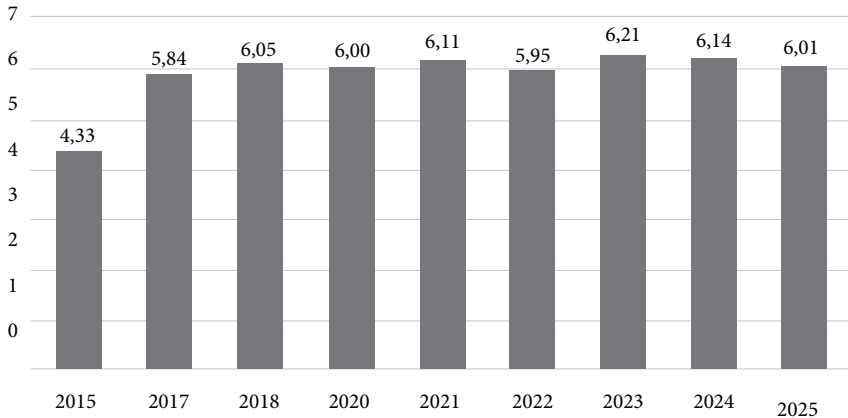
Even amid political transition, the foundational values and practices that have been established have proven relatively resilient to change. In other words, tolerance in Pematangsiantar has started to become institutionalized within the city's social life and governing culture rather than being personalistic. Such progress is indicative of the cities' ability to address the difficulties associated with promoting tolerance.

Another dynamic that was captured is the stagnation in the rankings of certain cities within the top 10 composition, such as Sukabumi (6th), Kediri (8th), and Semarang (3rd). At first glance, this stagnation may be perceived as an absence of significant progress. However, in the context of an increasingly dynamic and competitive index, the ability to maintain one's position in fact demonstrates consistency and sustained strengthening, as exemplified by Sukabumi's issuance of Mayoral Regulation No. 20 of 2025 on Guidelines for the Organization of Religious Harmony.

Even though some stagnations in the ranking are apparent, staying in the top 10 is not a passive accomplishment. Such an achievement demands consolidated policies, stability of leadership, and the ability to respond to evolving social dynamics. Staying in the top 10 shows resilient foundations, but the sustainability of leadership in the promotion of tolerance will very much be determined by the courage to innovate and institutionalize tolerance policies. Nevertheless, there are some dynamics that shall be paid attention to that can contribute to the degradation of the ranking, due to lack of innovations, like what happened with Magelang.

Moreover, the national average for top 10 cities in the 2025 TCI shall become the center of attention. The accumulation is as follows:

Graph 2
Average scores of the top 10 cities



Source: TCI 2015-2025 Research Team

Looking from an evaluative perspective, there are several important points in the 2025 TCI: the average score of the top 10 cities experienced a slight decline, from 6.14 in the 2024 TCI to 6.01 in the 2025 TCI. While this decline is not drastic, it nonetheless warrants attention as a signal of shifting dynamics within the urban tolerance ecosystem. In the context of index measurement, fluctuations of this nature are not anomalous.

An average score of 6.01 continues to demonstrate that the top 10 cities remain within the strong category in sustaining the tolerance ecosystem. This position reflects a relatively solid foundation of policy, leadership, and community participation. Indeed, through an evaluation of this marginal decline, these cities are presented with an opportunity to undertake further consolidation and innovation.

With various accomplishments, expectations of the public on the top 10 cities tend to be high. The status as the ‘most tolerant city’ carries both symbolic as well as moral weights. Every incident of

discrimination or limitation of rights can be subject to more scrutiny due to it contradicting the city's reputation. Thus, being in the top 10 is not only a reward, but also further continuous responsibility.

4.3. DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF CITIES FROM THE ESTABLISHED TO THE IMPROVING ZONES

In the reading of the 2025 TCI, SETARA Institute does not confine its attention to the top 10 cities, but also gives serious consideration to cities outside of that tier. In the 2025 TCI, SETARA Institute categorizes cities based on zones, namely:

1. Mature Zone, for cities in the top 10 overall ranking.
2. Established Zone, for cities ranked 11-20.
3. Consolidating Zone, for cities ranked 21-40.
4. Improving Zone, for cities ranked 41-70.
5. Basic Zone, for cities ranked 71-94

Cities belonging in Zones 2 to 4 are often left out from the spotlight since they do not belong to either the most advanced or the most regressed category, while in fact those cities have constantly transitioning dynamics to determine their status going forward.

Cities in this zone generally possess a sufficient initial foundation, though one that has yet to be fully consolidated. In certain variables they demonstrate promising commitment, while in others they continue to face challenges in implementation, policy consistency, or the strengthening of civil society participation.

In other words, these zones constitute a space of “possibility,” as cities within them can be propelled upward into the top tier through well-targeted policy interventions, or remain stagnant and even regress in the absence of consolidation. This categorization is therefore intended to enrich the reading of index data, so that it is not understood merely as a static ranking, but as a reflection of the dynamics and developmental trajectory of each individual city.

In the Established Zone, the top 3 cities consist of Manado, Surakarta, and Banjarmasin. These cities are no strangers to TCI, especially Manado and Surakarta which achieved top 10 rankings in the previous edition. These cities primarily have strong political leaderships in promoting tolerance, particularly Surakarta and Banjarmasin which have passed their respective Regional Regulations on Tolerance.

Within the Consolidating zone, cities that warrant closer attention include Batu, Pontianak, and Kotamobagu. Despite the various observations regarding the state of tolerance in these cities, the efforts that have been undertaken and the measures currently in place reflect a strong commitment on the part of both the municipal governments and community elements. Cities in this category generally demonstrate an institutionalization of tolerance values that is not contingent upon individual figures alone, but has become embedded within the system.

Integration of tolerance advancement into this system is evident through its institutionalization within legal instruments, such as Pontianak's Mayoral Regulation No. 96 of 2025 on the Prevention and Handling of Intolerance in Community Life, Medan's Mayoral Regulation No. 28 of 2021 on Guidelines for the Organization of Religious Life and the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) in Medan, and Batu's establishment of the Batu City Harmony Desk, formalized through a Mayoral Decree.

Challenges in cities in this category is no longer building foundations, but it is the matter of safeguarding sustainability, deepening policy implementation, as well as ensuring resilience in facing socio-political dynamics that can test the cities' commitments in the future. The prevention of intolerant incidents therefore constitutes a primary concern. In Kotamobagu, the commitment to tolerance advancement is further reflected in the accommodation of activities by minority groups, in this case, the Ahmadiyya congregation. At a time when rejection is prevalent in other cities, Kotamobagu demonstrates political leadership that actively facilitates such activities.

Lastly, in the Improving Zone, some cities shall be paid attention to, such as Probolinggo, Pagar Alam, and Gunungsitoli. Although not

yet occupying the top positions and still subject to various observations for further strengthening, cities in this category demonstrate a positive direction of change and the potential for further development, whether through new initiatives, policy breakthroughs, or the strengthening of political commitment. This Improving category should therefore be read as a strategic momentum, reflecting the energy of change and the opportunity to make significant leaps toward more robust institutionalization.

Such categorization further affirms that the 2025 TCI does not merely measure position, but also reads process. This approach encourages local governments not simply to pursue rankings, but to build a foundation of sustainability and demonstrate concrete progress in the advancement of tolerance. The 2025 TCI must therefore be read as both a roadmap and a space for evaluation. Cities with high achievements are challenged to maintain consistency and make qualitative leaps, while cities still in the process of strengthening are encouraged to accelerate their consolidation and innovation.

4.4. DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF 10 LOWEST-SCORING CITIES

It must be underlined that the TCI study does not recognize or employ the term ‘intolerant city’, but rather the term ‘city with the lowest tolerance score’. This is because a city’s low score is not solely attributable to the occurrence of intolerant incidents or other elements destructive to tolerance, but also to the absence of focus and innovation in advancing tolerance within the city, while other cities have moved swiftly in pursuing various innovations and breakthroughs in tolerance advancement.

Nevertheless, lowest-scoring cities carry significant urgency in the development of the tolerance ecosystem. The absence or fragility of such an ecosystem constitutes fertile ground for the emergence and proliferation of cases of intolerance, as well as the crystallization of government favoritism toward majority groups across the dimensions of programs, policies, and budgetary allocations.

Broadly speaking, cities within the bottom 10 rankings of the 2025 TCI continue to face challenges in the dimensions of political leadership and bureaucratic leadership that are insufficiently conducive to tolerance advancement. These two leadership challenges manifests in the crystallization of favoritism toward particular socio-religious groups and religious formalism that is initiated and institutionalized within the city through religion-based regulations, what the Komnas Perempuan (2009) has referred to as the institutionalization of discrimination.

Weak regional political leaderships on the issues of tolerance can be seen through the patterns of each case of violation against FoRB. Firstly, regional executives, which in this context are the mayors, do not always appear as the protector of constitutional rights, but can appear as part of the perpetrator of the violation itself. For example, by strengthening the enforcement of a discriminatory regulation instead of conducting a progressive interpretation based on the principles of non-discrimination and constitutional guarantee.

The Ahmadiyya Indonesia congregation frequently encounters such practices, such as the sealing of buildings of worship and the prohibition of religious activity. The public is given the impression that intolerance is normalized when mayors or other local authorities decide to keep quiet, take a neutral position, or even condone discriminatory behavior.

Second, regional officials are permissive toward intolerant incidents. This manifests in the oversimplification of such problems, when regional officials characterize intolerant incidents as matters of communication, misunderstandings among citizens, or administrative issues, when in fact these cases frequently involve the restriction of constitutional rights, intimidation of minority groups, or collectively discriminatory pressure exerted by the majority.

Due to this, political leadership on the issues of tolerance demands further than the ability to mediate. Leadership shall be equipped with normative courage to deem intolerance as violations, just enforcement of

the law, as well as to guarantee that conflict settlement does not sacrifice the rights of the minorities. Without concrete actions, permissive behaviors will only continue to become a recurring pattern that weakens the foundation of tolerance locally.

Third, the capitulation of regional heads to pressure from majority and/or intolerant groups. This condition may arise when regional officials hold affiliations or short-term political calculation interests. When the choice is to yield to such pressure, what ensues is not merely an administrative compromise, but a weakening of state authority in guaranteeing citizens' rights. Such a disposition reinforces the indifference of regional officials toward minority groups.

Same goes for the weak societal leadership, that can shrink spaces of encounter and debilitate social cohesion. SETARA Institute's FoRB Condition Report from 2007-2024 emphasized that actors of intolerance are not only from the state but also from non-state actors. In its 2024 FoRB report, SETARA Institute explained that the high number of non-state actors in intolerant incidents substantiates the thesis of a growing coercive capacity among citizens within society. This condition simultaneously reflects the fact that social nodes, as pillars sustaining societal leadership and the tolerance ecosystem, have yet to be fully supportive of respect for FoRB.

It must be underscored that low scores generally indicate a weak normative commitment on the part of local governments, a lack of specific policies on tolerance, and suboptimal mechanisms for the prevention and management of intolerant incidents. Cities with low scores therefore require accelerative and measured steps. In the absence of strong leadership and institutionalized policies, the tolerance ecosystem becomes fragile and vulnerable to pressure from intolerant groups or short-term political dynamics.

However, a position within the bottom 10 does not constitute a permanent verdict. It is precisely at this juncture that the opportunity for transformation exists. By treating TCI results as an evaluative mirror, local governments can formulate a more measured roadmap for improvement: strengthening the inclusive vision within planning documents, enhancing the capacity of apparatus on diversity issues, and ensuring that public services reach all citizens without exception. If the top 10 cities are challenged to maintain and innovate, then the bottom 10 cities are challenged to reform and transform.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1. CONCLUSION

1. In the 2025 TCI, 10 cities with the highest tolerance scores are: (1) Salatiga; (2) Singkawang; (3) Semarang; (4) Pematangsiantar; (5) Bekasi; (6) Sukabumi; (7) Magelang; (8) Kediri; (9) Tegal; and (10) Ambon. Through increasingly creative and forward-thinking performance in societal leadership, political leadership, and bureaucratic leadership in the advancement of tolerance, these top ten cities continue to solidify their tolerance ecosystems.
2. Highest scoring cities in the top 10 zone, there are Tegal and Ambon as the newcomers in the ranking, which achieved 9th and 10th position respectively. While 2 cities were degraded from the top 10 cities, which are Manado and Kupang. Such conditions indicate that the top 10 is not stagnant or is merely a symbolic ranking, but it reflects the well-structured, innovative, and sustainable policy works.
3. Cities in the top 10 generally can guarantee an adequate and sustainable ecosystem of tolerance. Such a guarantee can be done through promotive regulations on tolerance. Meanwhile, the 10 lowest-scoring cities in the TCI indicate that the ecosystem of tolerance in those cities have not yet

become mature. 10 lowest-scoring cities, up until now, are still facing challenges in several aspects, namely the political and bureaucratic leaderships which are not conducive to the promotion of tolerance, despite some developments found in the societal leadership.

4. In this year's TCI, the national average score is 4.97. This average is a 0.05 increase compared to the national average in 2024, which was 4.92. Similar to 2024, this year's national average score, if measured on the scale of 1-7, still indicates that the level of religious tolerance in Indonesia is at a good level and is continuing to be in an improving state.
5. Bandung and Surakarta have several progressive innovations in the regional laws for promoting tolerance. The aforementioned cities promulgated several Regional Regulations on Tolerance, namely the Bandung City Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2025 and the Surakarta City Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2025.
6. Based on the TCI research in previous years, there had been 4 progressive regional regulations, while in this year's TCI there have been 2 new progressive regional regulations that are specifically governing tolerance in Bandung and Surakarta. Alongside those cities, there are 4 other cities that have previously promulgated similar regulations, which are:
 - a. Mojokerto, with its Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2021 on Organization of Tolerance in Community Life;
 - b. Banjarmasin, with the Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on Organization of Tolerance in Community Life;
 - c. Tegal, with the Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 on the Maintenance of Religious Harmony; and
 - d. Salatiga, with the Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2024 on the Organization of Social Tolerance and Social Conflict Resolution.
7. Several other cities are also in the process of drafting their

regional and mayoral regulations that are promotive towards the development of tolerance, such as:

- a. Pematangsiantar, in the drafting process of the Regional Regulation on Tolerance;
 - b. Singkawang, in the drafting process of the Regional Regulation on Inclusive Governance;
 - c. Depok, in the drafting process of the Regional Regulation on Human Rights;
 - d. Bandung, in the drafting process of the Regional Regulation on Diversity in Community Life; and
 - e. Makassar, in the drafting process of the Mayoral Regulation on Fostering Harmony and Cohesion in Community Life in Makassar.
8. Sukabumi and Pontianak are also innovating through promotive regional regulations. Sukabumi has promulgated the Mayoral Regulation No. 20 of 2025 on the Guidelines for Organizing Interfaith Harmony, while Pontianak also has passed the Mayoral Regulation No. 96 of 2025 on the Prevention and Management of Intolerance in Community Life.
 9. In the reading of the 2025 TCI, SETARA Institute does not confine its attention to the top 10 cities, but also gives serious consideration to cities outside of that tier. Within the Consolidating zone, cities that warrant closer attention include Batu, Pontianak, and Kotamobagu. Within the Improving zone, cities that merit attention include Probolinggo, Pagar Alam, and Gunungsitoli.
 10. Challenges for cities in those categories are no longer constructing the necessary foundations on tolerance, but to ensure sustainability, internalizing policy enforcement, as well as to guarantee resilience in navigating socio-political dynamics that can test the commitment on tolerance in the future. Those zones are the spaces full of possibilities, because

the cities can advance with the right policy interventions, or stagnating or even regressing should there be no consolidated efforts at all.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The President shall explicitly position tolerance and protection of FoRB as one of the national priority agendas, as well as encouraging the enhancement of national tolerance by evaluating every potentially discriminating regulations, and developing fiscal incentive schemes or special rewards for progressive regions.
2. The Ministry of Home Affairs shall systematically evaluate regional regulations and policies that are potentially discriminating which open up fresh grounds for acts of intolerance to grow, as well as to formulate a national guidelines for promotive regional regulations on tolerance, due to the trend being set by several cities through promotive regulations.
3. The national government, primarily the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, to encourage and facilitate collaborations between cities/regencies in the promotion of tolerance through inclusive-tolerant development planning. Such demands are in line with the 2045 Indonesian Visions, which give some attention to the aspects of tolerance, social cohesion, inclusivity, and diversity.
4. Provincial governments, with the governor acting as the representative of the national government in the regions within the framework of Deconcentration, must be encouraged to assume a role and participate in the orchestration of tolerance ecosystem development. Regional regulations or gubernatorial regulations with potentially discriminatory content must be

evaluated substantively, not merely procedurally, to ensure their conformity with the principles of non-discrimination and diversity.

5. The national, provincial, and city/regency governments, to adequately support the budgets for FKUB and initiatives in developing inclusion and tolerance in cities and regencies.
6. Promoting the strengthening of the tolerance ecosystem in each city through cross-sectoral collaboration. Municipal governments are urged to initiate regular platforms that bring together local governments, religious figures, minority communities, academics, the business sector, and civil society organizations. Such internal collaboration is essential to ensure that tolerance issues are not addressed in a sectoral manner, but rather as a shared agenda integrated within social, educational, and public service policies.
7. Cities are encouraged to establish alliances or collaborative networks for the mutual exchange of experiences, regulatory innovations, and conflict prevention strategies. Regional government apparatus, FKUB, and community organizations may be facilitated to undertake study visits to cities with established best practices in tolerance governance. This model accelerates the diffusion of innovation and strengthens shared standards at the national level.
8. Civil society must be encouraged to be not merely reactive to cases of intolerance, but also proactive in monitoring the formulation of regional regulations. The strengthening of research, case documentation, and policy analysis will enhance their bargaining position in both legislative processes and governmental oversight.[]

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APPENDIX I
Complete Scores of 30 Highest-Scoring Cities in the 2025 Tolerant City Index

No	KOTA	Regulasi Pemerintah				Regulasi Sosial				Tindakan Pemerintah				Demografi Agama				SKOR AKHIR
		30%				30%				25%				15%				
		IND 1	10%	IND 2	20%	IND 3	20%	IND 4	10%	IND 5	10%	IND 6	15%	IND 7	5%	IND 8	10%	
1	Salatiga	6,50	0,650	6,46	1,292	6,50	1,300	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	6,00	0,300	7,00	0,700	6,492
2	Singkawang	6,33	0,633	6,04	1,208	7,00	1,400	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	6,00	0,300	6,00	0,600	6,391
3	Semarang	5,50	0,550	6,05	1,210	6,50	1,300	7,00	0,700	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	6,00	0,300	6,00	0,600	6,160
4	Pematang Siantar	5,00	0,500	5,92	1,184	7,00	1,400	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	6,00	0,300	6,00	0,600	6,084
5	Bekasi	6,17	0,617	6,10	1,220	6,00	1,200	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	6,037
6	Sukabumi	5,33	0,533	5,95	1,190	7,00	1,400	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	6,00	0,600	5,973
7	Magelang	5,83	0,583	5,86	1,172	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,805
8	Kediri	6,00	0,600	5,71	1,142	6,00	1,200	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	6,00	0,600	5,792
9	Tegal	5,13	0,513	6,35	1,270	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,733
10	Ambon	5,33	0,533	5,62	1,124	6,00	1,200	4,00	0,400	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,657
11	Manado	6,00	0,600	5,20	1,040	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,590

No	KOTA	Regulasi Pemerintah				Regulasi Sosial				Tindakan Pemerintah				Demografi Agama				SKOR AKHIR
		IND 1	10%	IND 2	20%	IND 3	20%	IND 4	10%	IND 5	10%	IND 6	15%	IND 7	5%	IND 8	10%	
			30%				30%				25%				15%			
12	Surakarta	5,33	0,533	6,22	1,244	5,00	1,000	4,00	0,400	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,577
13	Banjarmasin	4,17	0,417	6,06	1,212	6,00	1,200	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,900	4,00	0,200	5,00	0,500	5,529
14	Surabaya	4,83	0,483	5,47	1,094	6,50	1,300	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,750	4,00	0,200	5,00	0,500	5,527
15	DKI Jakarta	5,5	0,550	5,5	1,100	5,50	1,100	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,500
16	Denpasar	4,33	0,433	5,56	1,112	6,50	1,300	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	5,00	0,500	5,495
17	Bandung	5,00	0,500	6,05	1,210	4,50	0,900	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	7,00	1,050	4,00	0,200	5,00	0,500	5,460
18	Yogyakarta	3,83	0,383	5,20	1,040	6,00	1,200	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,900	6,00	0,300	5,00	0,500	5,423
19	Malang	5,50	0,550	5,12	1,024	6,50	1,300	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,750	3,00	0,150	5,00	0,500	5,374
20	Kupang	5,00	0,500	5,75	1,150	7,00	1,400	5,00	0,500	4,00	0,400	5,00	0,750	5,00	0,250	4,00	0,400	5,350
21	Tebing Tinggi	5,00	0,500	7,00	1,400	7,00	1,400	3,00	0,300	4,00	0,400	6,00	0,900	3,00	0,150	3,00	0,300	5,350
22	Mojokerto	4,33	0,433	6,55	1,310	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,750	3,00	0,150	4,00	0,400	5,343
23	Tidore Kepulauan	4,00	0,400	5,20	1,040	7,00	1,400	3,00	0,300	5,00	0,500	7,00	1,050	3,00	0,150	5,00	0,500	5,340
24	Tomohon	4,33	0,433	5,20	1,040	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,750	4,00	0,200	5,00	0,500	5,323
25	Bogor	4,5	0,450	5,47	1,094	6,00	1,200	6,00	0,600	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,750	5,00	0,250	4,00	0,400	5,244

No	KOTA	Regulasi Pemerintah				Regulasi Sosial				Tindakan Pemerintah				Demografi Agama				SKOR AKHIR
		IND 1	10%	IND 2	20%	IND 3	20%	IND 4	10%	IND 5	10%	IND 6	15%	IND 7	5%	IND 8	10%	
		30%				30%				25%				15%				
26	Serang	4,00	0,400	5,18	1,036	7,00	1,400	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	2,00	0,100	3,00	0,300	5,236
27	Madiun	4,17	0,417	5,21	1,042	7,00	1,400	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,750	4,00	0,200	4,00	0,400	5,209
28	Pontianak	4,17	0,417	5,13	1,026	5,00	1,000	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	5,00	0,250	4,00	0,400	5,193
29	Jayapura	4,00	0,400	5,20	1,040	7,00	1,400	4,00	0,400	5,00	0,500	5,00	0,750	4,00	0,200	5,00	0,500	5,190
30	Metro	3,00	0,300	5,20	1,040	6,50	1,300	5,00	0,500	6,00	0,600	6,00	0,900	3,00	0,150	4,00	0,400	5,190

APPENDIX 2:
YEAR-TO-YEAR RECAPITULATION OF 10 HIGHEST-SCORING CITIES
(2015-2025)

2015 TCI			2017 TCI			2018 TCI			2020 TCI		
No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score
1	Tual	5,21	1	Manado	5,90	1	Singkawang	6,51	1	Salatiga	6,72
2	Manado	4,68	2	P. Siantar	5,90	2	Salatiga	6,48	2	Singkawang	6,45
3	Singkawang	4,58	3	Salatiga	5,90	3	P. Siantar	6,28	3	Manado	6,20
4	Salatiga	4,26	4	Singkawang	5,90	4	Manado	6,03	4	Tomohon	6,18
5	Pematang Siantar	4,26	5	Tual	5,90	5	Ambon	5,96	5	Kupang	6,04
6	Sibolga	4,16	6	Binjai	5,80	6	Bekasi	5,89	6	Surabaya	6,03
7	Ambon	4,05	7	Kotamobagu	5,80	7	Kupang	5,86	7	Ambon	5,73
8	Sorong	4,05	8	Palu	5,80	8	Tomohon	5,83	8	Kediri	5,58
9	Pontianak	4,05	9	Tebing Tinggi	5,80	9	Binjai	5,83	9	Sukabumi	5,55

2015 TCI			2017 TCI			2018 TCI			2020 TCI		
No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score
10	Palangkaraya	4,00	10	Surakarta	5,72	10	Surabaya	5,82	10	Bekasi	5,53
		4,33			5,84			6,05			6,00

2021 TCI			2022 TCI			2023 TCI			2024 TCI		
No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score
1	Singkawang	6,48	1	Singkawang	6,58	1	Singkawang	6,50	1	Salatiga	6,544
2	Manado	6,40	2	Salatiga	6,41	2	Bekasi	6,46	2	Singkawang	6,420
3	Salatiga	6,37	3	Bekasi	6,08	3	Salatiga	6,45	3	Semarang	6,356
4	Kupang	6,34	4	Surakarta	5,88	4	Manado	6,40	4	Magelang	6,248
5	Tomohon	6,18	5	Kediri	5,85	5	Semarang	6,23	5	Pematang Siantar	6,115
6	Magelang	6,12	6	Sukabumi	5,81	6	Magelang	6,22	6	Sukabumi	5,968
7	Ambon	5,90	7	Semarang	5,78	7	Kediri	6,07	7	Bekasi	5,939

2021 TCI			2022 TCI			2023 TCI			2024 TCI		
No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score	No	City	Score
8	Bekasi	5,83	8	Manado	5,76	8	Sukabumi	5,99	8	Kediri	5,925
9	Surakarta	5,78	9	Kupang	5,68	9	Kupang	5,95	9	Manado	5,912
10	Kediri	5,73	10	Magelang	5,67	10	Surakarta	5,80	10	Kupang	5,853
		6,11			5,95			6,21			6,13

2025 TCI			2025 TCI		
No	City	Score	No	City	Score
1	Salatiga	6,492	6	Sukabumi	5,973
2	Singkawang	6,391	7	Magelang	5,805
3	Semarang	6,160	8	Kediri	5,792
4	Pematang Siantar	6,084	9	Tegal	5,733
5	Bekasi	6,037	10	Ambon	5,657
					6,01

APPENDIX 3
SPECIFIC REGIONAL LAWS WHICH ARE PROMOTIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOLERANCE
Total : 65 Regional Regulations

* In the 2025 TCI, the assessment of tolerance-promotional legal instruments is specified exclusively within the scope of tolerance and national identity.

Regional Regulations : 14
Mayoral Regulations : 17
Others : 34

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
1	Bandung	Bandung City Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2025 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life	Mayoral Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2023-2024	Mayoral Decree No. 188.342/Kep.894-KUM/2025 on the Drafting Team for the Regional Regulation on Diversity in Community Life in Bandung
2	Banjarmasin	Banjarmasin City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life		

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
3	Bekasi	Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2023 on Pancasila Education and National Consciousness	Bekasi Mayoral Regulation No. 57.B of 2021 on the Organization of Religious Harmony in Bekasi	Bekasi Mayoral Decree No. 450/Kep.40-Kesbangpol/I/2023 on the Provision of Performance Honoraria to the Religious Community Council Executive Board at the Sub-District and Kelurahan Levels for the 2023 Fiscal Year.
		Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2023 on the Organization of Public Order and Community Peace [Article 39]	Mayoral Regulation No. 27 of 2022 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life Bekasi Mayoral Regulation No. 105 of 2017 on Guidelines for the Establishment of the Religious Community Council at the Sub-District Levels	Bekasi Mayoral Decree No. 340/Kep.518-Kesbangpol/XI/2023 on the Establishment of the Bekasi City National Consciousness Education Center for 2023–2024

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
4	Bogor	Bogor City Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2023 on Bogor as a Human Rights-Friendly City		
		Bogor City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on Pancasila Education and National Consciousness		
5	Kota Depok	Depok City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 on the Development of Pancasila Ideology and National Consciousness		
6	Kediri		Kediri Mayoral Regulation No. 6 of 2023 on Guidelines for the Organization of Interreligious Harmony	Kediri City Regional Secretary Decree No. 15 of 2022 on the Implementation Team for the Development of Harmony Among Ethnic Groups, Religious Communities, Races, and Social Groups in Tinalan Kelurahan for 2022

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Regional Secretary Decree No. 144 on the Implementation Team for the Development of Harmony Among Ethnic Groups, Religious Communities, Races, and Social Groups in Ngampel Kelurahan for 2022
7	Kupang		Mayoral Regulation No. 79 of 2020 on Guidelines for Facilitating the Construction of Houses of Worship in Kupang	
8	Magelang		Magelang Mayoral Regulation No. 54 of 2022 on the Religious Magelang Program	
9	Makassar			Makassar Mayoral Decree No. 885/5450.05/2023 on the Establishment of the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) Team for the 2023 Fiscal Year

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Makassar Mayoral Decree No. 937/200.05/2023 on the Establishment of the Working Group Team for the National Consciousness Education Center (PPWK) for the 2023 Fiscal Year
				Makassar Mayoral Decree No. 1769/200.05/2023 on the Establishment of the Implementation Team for the Improvement of the Welfare of Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist Sunday School Teachers in Makassar for the 2023 Fiscal Year
				Makassar Mayoral Decree No. 919/450.05/2023 on the Establishment of the Implementation Team for the Data Collection and Monitoring of Religious Workers in Makassar for the 2023 Fiscal Year

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Makassar Mayoral Decree No. 293/640/2022 on the Delegation of Authority for Signing Temporary Permission Letters for the Utilization of Non-House of Worship Buildings to Sub-District Heads
10	Manado			28/KEP/02/SETDAKO/2023, 1/27/2023 on the Determination of Grant Recipients for Houses of Worship and Religious Organizations in Manado Sourced from the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget for the 2023 Fiscal Year
				47/KEP/B.05/BKBP/2023, dated 2/3/2023 on the Amendment to Manado Mayoral Decree No. 14/KEP/B.05/BKPB LINMAS/2019 on the Establishment of the Manado City National Consciousness Education Center
				118/KEP/B.05/BKBP/2023, dated 3/28/2023 on the Amendment to Manado Mayoral Decree No. 165/KEP/B.05/BKBP LINMAS/2021 on the Determination of the Advisory Board and Executive Committee of the Manado City National Integration Forum for the Period 2021 – 2024

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				123/KEP/B.05/BKBP/2023, dated 4/3/2023, on the Names of Grant Recipients for Bodies, Institutions, and Legally Incorporated Civil Society Organizations within the Manado Municipal Government, Sourced from the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget for the 2023 Fiscal Year, issued by the National Unity and Politics Agency
				126/KEP/B.05/BKBP/2023, dated 4/3/2023, on the Amendment to Manado Mayoral Decree No. 164/KEP/B.05/BKBP-LINMAS/2021 on the Determination of the Executive Committee of the Manado City Religious Harmony Forum for the Period 2021 – 2024, issued by the National Unity and Politics Agency

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				174/KEP/02/SETDAKO/2023, dated May 7, 2023, on the Amendment to Manado Mayoral Decree No. 163/KEP/02/SETDAKO/2021 on the Determination of the Executive Committee of the Manado City Interfaith Cooperation Body for the Period 2021–2024, issued by the Public Welfare Division
11	Medan		Medan Mayoral Regulation No. 28 of 2021 on Guidelines for the Organization of Religious Life and the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) in Medan	
12	Mojokerto	Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2021 on the Organization of Tolerance, Public Peace and Order, and Community Protection		

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
13	Pematang Siantar		Mayoral Regulation No. 20 of 2023 on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life	Pematangsiantar Mayoral Decree No. 100.3.3.098 dated February 3, 2023 on the National Action Plan on Human Rights Team for Pematangsiantar for 2023
			Pematangsiantar Mayoral Decree No. 002.3/200.1.3.1/1146/VII/2024 on the Integrated Team for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2024	Mayoral Decree No. 100.3.3.3/1608/WK-2023 on the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) of Pematangsiantar
				Mayoral Decree No. 001/100.3.3.3/794/II-2025 on the Drafting Team for the Pematangsiantar Regional Regulation on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
14	Pontianak		Mayoral Regulation No. 96 of 2025 on the Prevention and Handling of Intolerance in Community Life	Mayoral Decree No. 001/100.3.3.3/794/II-2025 on the Drafting Team for the Pematangsiantar Regional Regulation on the Organization of Tolerance in Community Life
15	Salatiga	Salatiga City Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2024 on the Organization of Societal Tolerance and Social Conflict Management		Salatiga Mayoral Decree No. 200.2/276/2024 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism in Salatiga for 2024–2027
		Salatiga City Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2024 on Pancasila Education and National Consciousness		
			Mayoral Regulation No. 47 of 2019 on the Strengthening of National	

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
16	Semarang	Semarang City Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2024 on the Implementation of Human Rights	Consciousness through Pancasila Literacy in Semarang	Mayoral Decree No. 650/157 dated June 28, 2005 on the Revitalization of the Chinatown Area as a Chinese Cultural Tourism Center in Semarang
				Designation of Sam Po Kong Temple as a Cultural Heritage Site for the Advancement of the Rights of the Confucian Minority Community
				Designation of Blenduk Church as a Cultural Heritage Site for the Advancement of the Rights of the Christian Minority Community

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Designation of Gereformeerd Church as a Cultural Heritage Site for the Advancement of the Rights of the Christian Minority Community
			Semarang Mayoral Regulation No. 48 of 2024 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism	Circular Letter of the Semarang City Regional Secretariat No. B/4366/200.1.1./XI/2024 dated November 15, 2024 on the Playing of the Indonesia Raya National Anthem within the Semarang Municipal Government Environment
				Circular Letter of the Education Department No. B/27996/200.1.1/XI/2024 on the Playing of the Indonesia Raya National Anthem, addressed to School Principals (Early Childhood Education, Elementary Schools, and Junior High Schools), Sub-District Education Units, and Non-Formal Education Units of the Semarang City Learning Activity Center (SKB)

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Mayoral Decree No. 400.8.1/614 of 2025 on the Establishment of the Research and Advisory Team for the Establishment of Houses of Worship in Semarang for the Period 2025–2028
17	Singkawang		Singkawang Mayoral Regulation No. 129 of 2021 on the Organization of Societal Tolerance	Singkawang Mayoral Decree No. 200.1.1/363/BD.05.KSB of 2024 on the Establishment of the Integrated Team and Secretariat for the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Reduction of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism
18	Sukabumi		Sukabumi Mayoral Regulation No. 53 of 2023 on Inclusive Development Planning Sukabumi Mayoral Regulation No. 20 of 2025 on Guidelines for the Organization of Religious Harmony	Sukabumi Mayoral Decree No. 188.45/210-BAKESBANGPOL/2024 on the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2024

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
19	Surabaya		Mayoral Regulation No. 135 of 2022 on the Procedures for the Provision of Scholarships. Article 3 paragraph (1) stipulates that the target recipients of this scholarship include students who are residents of Surabaya and possess exceptional talent in memorizing sacred scriptures, namely the Al-Qur'an, the Bible (Protestant and Catholic), the Vedas, the Tripitaka, the Sishu and Wujing (Confucianism).	Mayoral Decree No. 188.45/210/436.1.2/2021 of 2021 on the Amendment to Surabaya Mayoral Decree No. 188.45/83/436.1.2/2019 on the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) of Surabaya
				Mayoral Decree No. 100.3.3.3/523/436.1.2/2020 of 2020 on the Facilitation Team for the Organization of Religious Activities

No	City	Regional Laws		
		Regional Regulations	Mayoral Regulations	Others
				Mayoral Decree No. 100.3.3/15/436.1.2/2022 of 2022 on the Working Group for National Consciousness Education in Surabaya
20	Kota Surakarta	Surakarta City Regional Regulation No. 15 of 2025 on the Organization of Societal Tolerance		Mayoral Decree No. 100.05/55.6 of 2022 on the Integrated Team for the Regional Action Plan on Violent Extremism Prevention in Surakarta
		Surakarta City Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2023 on the Internalization of Pancasila Values		Establishment of the Secretariat and Team for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism in Surakarta through Mayoral Decree No. 100.05/21 of 2023
21	Kota Tangerang	Tangerang City Regional Regulation No. 11 of 2023 on the Organization of Pancasila Education and National Consciousness		



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