

Enhancing Interreligious Tolerance: The Role of Local Communities and Peranakan Chinese in Semarang's Chinatown



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Abstract

The Rasa Dharma Association, also known as the Boen Hian Tong Social Association, is the oldest Chinese organization in Semarang. The Chinese community, which mostly adheres to Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity, lives side by side with the indigenous Muslim community, which generally comes from the Kampung Melayu or Kauman areas. This study examines how rasa dharma promotes tolerance in the field of religion. The Chinese community plays a significant role in maintaining an atmosphere of tolerance. This community actively integrates the values of pluralism into their daily activities. This study uses a field research method, which is a qualitative approach. The data collection methods in this study include interviews, observation, and documentation with the aim of exploring the meanings, experiences, and perspectives of the subjects in more detail and comprehensively. The results of this study show that harmonious social relations between the two groups, namely the Chinese community with different religious backgrounds and the local religious communities, did not form spontaneously, but rather through a long process involving various interactions, ranging from social to economic interactions. The results of the study show that the Rasa Dharma Association plays an important role in increasing tolerance among religious communities through various interreligious traditions or activities regardless of religious background.

Abstrak

Perkumpulan Rasa Dharma atau Perkumpulan Sosial Boen Hian Tong merupakan organisasi Tionghoa tertua di Semarang. Masyarakat Tionghoa yang mayoritas menganut agama Budha, Konghucu, dan Kristen hidup berdampingan dengan masyarakat muslim pribumi. Penelitian ini meneliti terkait bagaimana Rasa Dharma bertoleransi dalam bidang agama. Komunitas ini secara aktif mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai pluralisme dalam aktivitas sehari-hari. Penelitian ini menggunakan jenis metode penelitian lapangan yang mana termasuk dalam pendekatan kualitatif. Metode pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini didapatkan melalui wawancara, observasi dan dokumentasi dengan tujuan untuk menggali makna, pengalaman, dan perspektif subjek secara lebih detail dan komprehensif. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa hubungan sosial yang harmonis antara kedua kelompok tidak terbentuk secara spontan, melainkan melalui proses panjang yang melibatkan berbagai interaksi, mulai dari interaksi sosial, ekonomi, dan berbagai tradisi atau kegiatan lintas agama tanpa melihat latar belakang kepercayaan.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, the largest archipelagic nation in the world, is acclaimed for its rich diversity of cultures, languages, and religions. With over 17.000 islands and more than 300 distinct ethnic groups, Indonesia is among the most culturally diverse nations globally. This geographical condition creates many ethnic groups coexisting in one nation. As modernism leads to a centralized civilization, the interaction among distinct ethnic groups increases. It allows acculturation to emerge [1]-[2]. While Indonesia's multiculturalism is a source of pride, it also presents challenges that can lead to social tensions [3]. It should be



emphasized that the principles of tolerance and social integration need to be strengthened in order to minimize the negative impacts of religious diversity in Indonesia [4].

The Pecinan area of Semarang has a long history as a meeting place for various community groups with different religious backgrounds. This area was established in the 18th century as a center of trade and settlement for ethnic Chinese in Central Java. To this day, the Pecinan area of Semarang still maintains its unique Chinese culture and traditions, such as the *Cap Go Meh* celebration and worship at old temples. Although the majority of the residents in this area are ethnic Chinese, the local Muslim community, both Javanese and Muslim Chinese descendants, continue to live peacefully side by side without discrimination or conflict [5]. The social relationship between these two communities has continued to develop over time, as evidenced by interfaith collaboration and participation in social, humanitarian, and cultural activities [6].

Over time, this organization, which was once considered an elite Chinese association in Semarang, has undergone a number of changes in order to survive and keep up with the times. These changes include reviving various arts programs, reintroducing traditions and culture to the younger generation, and collaborating with non-governmental organizations that focus on and are active in the issue of pluralism, such as the Budaya Mitra Foundation and the EIN Institute. The Chinatown area of Semarang is one of the multicultural social spaces that shows that groups of people from different religious backgrounds can live together in peace and harmony [1]. The Chinese community, which mostly follows Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity, lives side by side with the indigenous Muslim community [7]. In this context, the harmonious social relationship between the two groups, namely the Chinese community with different religious backgrounds and the local religious community, did not form spontaneously, but rather through a long process involving various interactions, ranging from social to economic interactions [8].

One of the social actors that plays an important role in maintaining and preserving harmonious relations between religious communities in the Chinatown area of Semarang is the Rasa Dharma Association, often known as the *Boen Hian Tong* Social Association. Founded in the early 20th century, this organization serves as a humanitarian social institution for the Chinese community living in Semarang. However, with the passage of time, the Rasa Dharma Association has increased and expanded its social activities, so that the local religious communities also feel the benefits and impact of these social actions. Such social activities are a tangible form of interreligious interaction that contributes to social integration and tolerance among religious communities in Semarang's Chinatown [9].

The main role of the community in Pecinan lies in their collaborative initiatives. They not only carry out their own religious rituals, but also frequently interact and coordinate with other religious leaders in Semarang. One concrete example of this is their active participation in social and humanitarian activities that transcend religious boundaries, such as social service, fundraising, or night market activities involving all traders. Through interactions that occur in the public spaces of Chinatown, the community collectively sends the message that Chinese identity and diversity of beliefs are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, both are integral parts of the harmonious identity of the city of Semarang. The community in Semarang's Chinatown serves as a kind of laboratory for harmony. In the context of Indonesian history, which is sometimes marked by ethnic, religious, and racial tensions, this community continues to demonstrate active tolerance [9]. For example, temples located next to mosques or churches respect each other's worship times. This

community has preserved this tradition for generations, making it an inherited social norm. By promoting dialogue, acceptance, and mutual involvement, the Chinatown community has succeeded in transforming religious diversity from a potential source of conflict into a source of social and cultural wealth, ensuring that harmony remains a special characteristic of this historic place.

Taking various aspects into consideration, the Pecinan area of Semarang can be understood as a social space that is prone to friction, given that this area is a meeting point for groups of people from diverse backgrounds. Nevertheless, the social dynamics that have developed among religious communities actually demonstrate constructive relationships based on values of tolerance, interreligious dialogue, and collaboration in community life. These interactions also shape the way Chinatown residents view differences as part of diversity [10]. This study focuses on the procedures and practical activities they implement to build and maintain interreligious social relations, networking patterns, and collaborative strategies that enable joint responses to social needs and potential conflicts, as well as interreligious cultural practices and religious rituals that contribute to the formation of a sense of togetherness. Based on this background, we are interested in researching the role of local communities and Peranakan communities, namely the Rasa Dharma Association, in maintaining and increasing religious tolerance in Semarang's Chinatown, along with the challenges and obstacles faced by these communities in realizing this goal.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach, as it is well-suited for exploring the experiences, perceptions, and subjective meanings within Rasa Dharma Association in Pecinan District of Semarang. Denzin and Lincoln [11] assert that qualitative research is interpretive and flexible in nature, enabling researchers to adapt their methods in accordance with the dynamics encountered in the field. Accordingly, the qualitative approach is particularly relevant to this study, given that the phenomenon under investigation is deeply embedded in values, social interactions, and meanings that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative measurement.

The focus of this study is to examine the role of Rasa Dharma Association in maintaining and enhancing interreligious tolerance in the Pecinan District of Semarang. Creswell [12] argues that the focus of qualitative research must be clear and specific in order to uncover the meanings embedded within social phenomena in depth. In the context of the Pecinan District, traditions such as the "*Tuk Panjang*" celebration during the Lunar New Year serve as a concrete example of tolerance practices involving multiple religious communities. Therefore, this study not only describes the role of the community but also explores the underlying social values that shape interreligious interaction.

This study draws on two types of data sources: primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from the field through in-depth interviews with the key informant, namely the chairperson of Rasa Dharma Association. The selection of this informant was conducted purposively, on the grounds that, as the organization's primary leader, the informant possesses the comprehensive knowledge, capacity, and authority to provide representative information regarding the community's role in fostering interreligious tolerance in the Pecinan District of Semarang. Creswell [12] notes that primary data in qualitative research are essential, as they offer direct perspectives from participants who are actively involved in the phenomenon being studied. Secondary data, meanwhile,

were gathered from literature, academic journals, and documents relevant to the research topic, including scholarly works on Rasa Dharma Association and tolerance practices in the Pecinan District. Denzin and Lincoln [11] contend that the use of secondary data strengthens research findings by providing theoretical and historical context that supports the analysis.

Data collection in this study employed three complementary techniques: in-depth interviews, observation, and literature review. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format with the chairperson of Rasa Dharma Association as the key informant. The semi-structured format was selected because it maintains the research focus while simultaneously allowing the informant to raise relevant matters organically. During the interview sessions, the researchers utilized a mobile phone as an audio recorder, as well as for photography and video documentation, ensuring that the data collected could be accurately transcribed and verified.

Observation was carried out at the research site to record social phenomena directly. The observation was both participatory and non-participatory in nature, allowing the researchers to document non-verbal details, patterns of interaction, and cultural symbols that reflect and support tolerance. Literature review, in turn, was conducted to examine prior research, theoretical frameworks, and relevant documents. The literatures reviewed encompassed academic journals, books, and community documents pertaining to interreligious tolerance in the Pecinan District. The combined use of these three techniques aligns with the principle of methodological triangulation which enhances the validity and credibility of qualitative data by cross-verifying information from multiple sources.

Data analysis followed the interactive model proposed by Miles and Huberman [13], comprising three interconnected stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. During the data reduction stage, the researchers selected, simplified, and focused the raw data obtained from interviews, observations, and literature review, retaining only information directly relevant to the research questions. In the data display stage, the refined information was organized into structured descriptive narratives to facilitate the identification of patterns and conceptual relationships. Finally, in the conclusion drawing stage, the researchers formulated findings through a comprehensive interpretation of the presented data, linking them to the theoretical frameworks employed in this study, namely Durkheim's Social Integration Theory, Putnam's Social Capital Theory, and Allport's Intergroup Contact Theory. The entire analytical process was carried out manually, supported by field notes and transcribed interview recordings.

Data validity was ensured through triangulation, a strategy that Denzin [14] identifies as central to enhancing the credibility of qualitative research by drawing on multiple perspectives. Triangulation was achieved by cross-referencing data from in-depth interviews, field observations, and relevant documents, thereby reducing the risk of bias that may arise from reliance on a single data source [12]. In addition, member checking was employed, whereby the findings and interpretations derived from the interviews were confirmed with the informant to ensure that the researcher's interpretations accurately reflected the informant's intended meaning [15]. The combination of triangulation and member checking ensures that the data obtained are scientifically accountable and credible.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The Role of the Rasa Dharma Association in Enhancing Interreligious Tolerance in Semarang's Chinatown

Based on an interview with Harjanto Halim, Chairman of the Rasa Dharma Association for the period 2025 to 2026, it was found that the Rasa Dharma Association or *Boen Hian Tong* plays a role in maintaining and increasing religious tolerance in the Chinatown area of Semarang. The Rasa Dharma Association plays a role in maintaining and enhancing religious tolerance in the Pecinan area of Semarang through various interreligious activities that are still being carried out today. Harjanto Halim, Chairman of the Rasa Dharma Association for the 2025-2027 period, explained, "The Chinese community does not really question a person's relationship with their god, but what is most important to them is human relations. The Chinese community believes that religious matters are personal affairs and should not be mixed with social life". In fact, he admitted that he still practices the "*Selamatan Sura*" tradition regardless of his religion. Therefore, the Rasa Dharma Association often holds interreligious activities that are beneficial in maintaining and enhancing tolerance among people with different religious backgrounds in the Pecinan area of Semarang. An interview with one of the administrators of the Rasa Dharma Association for the 2025-2027 period revealed that there are many interreligious activities that are still carried out from year to year. Agung Kurniawan, secretary of the Rasa Dharma Association, said that almost all of the Rasa Dharma Association's activities are interreligious in nature. This statement was confirmed through various activities documented in the interview results, which showed that the interreligious dimension was not merely complementary, but rather a key characteristic of the organization.

Historically, the Rasa Dharma Association, or *Boen Hian Tong*, which was founded in 1876, grew out of *Tri Dharma* (Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism), which has a syncretic character and emphasizes social harmony. This tradition has shaped an organizational culture that is not exclusive to any particular religion but rather opens space for diversity of identity. In practice, this organization has been able to bring together individuals and groups from various backgrounds, including Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, the Ahmadiyya community, and other religious communities. Based on interviews conducted, one concrete form of interreligious activity is the celebration of Cap Go Meh, which coincides with the organization's anniversary and is combined with the commemoration of Abdurrahman Wahid. During this event, not only are prayers held, but "*takjil*" is also distributed and everyone breaks their fast together. This practice demonstrates the integration of Chinese cultural symbols with Islamic traditions in the same social space. There was even a symbolic adjustment in the form of replacing pork with goat meat as a form of sensitivity towards Muslims, although this decision was met with objections from some conservative circles.

Social activities are also an important instrument in strengthening tolerance. The "*Kantin Kebajikan*" (Charity Canteen) program regularly distributes 100 portions of food to the poor every Tuesday afternoon without discriminating against the religious background of the beneficiaries. There is even a donation box so that the poor can contribute, ensuring that the relationship that is built is not hierarchical, but participatory. This practice shows that tolerance is not only manifested in ritual symbols, but also in social redistribution and empowerment.

The dimension of social advocacy is also evident through the existence of *Abdurrahman Wahid's sinci* (spirit board) as a form of respect for his services in restoring the civil rights of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The Rasa Dharma Association also carries out *Ceng Beng Gus Dur* activities, which are pilgrimages to Gus Dur's grave in Tebuireng, Jombang, every April 5th each year. These two things show that Gus Dur has become a symbol of reconciliation between the state and the Chinese ethnic group after the New Order[16]. In addition, the existence of *sinci* and the tradition of *Ceng Beng Gus Dur* show the process of interreligious respect for national figures who are considered to have fought for the civil rights of minorities, namely the Chinese ethnic group [17]. The picture of Gus Dur's spirit board can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Gus Dur's spirit board or *sinci* at the altar of the Rasa Dharma Association

The tradition of washing parents' feet during Chinese New Year is also relevant to research findings on the value of filial piety in contemporary Chinese culture in Indonesia. A study in *Jurnal Ilmiah Profesi Pendidikan* [16] shows that the value of respect for parents and social authority figures has been reinterpreted so that it can be adopted by interreligious communities without losing its moral meaning. Thus, this practice has become a universal value that is accepted across religions.

In addition, the Rasa Dharma Association also has a unique interreligious tradition called "*Tuk Panjang*". *Tuk Panjang* tradition is an activity routinely carried out by the Rasa Dharma Association (*Boen Hian Tong*) in Pecinan area of Semarang as part of the Chinese New Year celebrations until *Cap Go Meh*. Historically, *Tuk Panjang* is a tradition of eating together in Chinese culture with dishes arranged on a long table as a symbol of gratitude, togetherness, and hope for blessings from God. Nowadays, the Rasa Dharma Association has transformed this tradition, which was originally an internal ethnic ceremony, into a space for interreligious and intercommunity encounters [18]. This activity is attended by religious leaders, social organization administrators, and people from various religious backgrounds who sit and eat together without religious barriers.

As a shared social space, *Tuk Panjang* serves to strengthen social cohesion through interaction and direct contact. In Chinese culture, eating together has a symbolic meaning of acceptance and equality, thereby reducing social distance between religious communities. The adjustment of the menu to accommodate participants from different religious backgrounds demonstrates a concrete attitude of tolerance in social practice, not just in discourse. These efforts reflect a collective awareness to respect each individual's beliefs without eliminating the essence of the traditions being practiced. Thus, these

activities not only strengthen the value of togetherness, but also build mutual respect and trust among religious communities in the Pecinan area of Semarang.

The Estungkara Forum, as a space for advocacy and social assistance, is also in line with the concept of religious-based social support networks. Recent research in Religions [19] emphasizes that interreligious organizations that provide psychosocial support and legal advocacy have a real contribution to grassroots peacebuilding.

The last interreligious activity is the interreligious *King Hoo Ping*, also known as interreligious ancestor worship. *King Hoo Ping* was originally a traditional Chinese ritual intended to pray for spirits who had not yet received respect from their families. However, in the context of the Rasa Dharma Association, this ritual has undergone an expansion of meaning and a transformation of function. This tradition is open to interreligious participants as a form of universal human solidarity.

Theoretically, this practice can be understood through the concept of lived religion, which is how religion is practiced in daily life in a contextual and adaptive manner [17]. In this framework, rituals are not understood rigidly as dogma, but as social practices that can be negotiated according to the needs of the community. Furthermore, the transformation of rituals into spaces for interreligious participation is in line with the findings of contemporary pluralism studies, which emphasize the importance of interaction based on shared practices in strengthening social cohesion [19].

Furthermore, interreligious involvement in spirit worship rituals can also be interpreted as a form of bridging social capital, namely the building of bridges between different groups through meaningful shared activities [20]. In the context of Semarang's Chinatown, this practice shows that sacred spaces do not have to be exclusive, but can be managed as spiritual public spaces that strengthen solidarity across identities.

Challenges and Obstacles Faced by the Rasa Dharma Semarang Association

Rasa Dharma Association faces several external challenges, including occasional rejection from fanatical adherents of Chinese religions. For instance, during the *Cap Go Meh* festival, a tradition where Chinese communities typically host communal feasts featuring pork as a staple dish, Rasa Dharma Association deviates from the norm. Since recognizing Gus Dur as a savior of the Chinese ethnic group in Indonesia, the organization has substituted pork with goat meat. This dietary substitution sparked a dispute between Perkumpulan Rasa Dharma and fanatical traditionalists who viewed the change as a deviation.

Another significant challenge faced by Rasa Dharma Association relates to internal obstacles. Despite its demonstrated role in fostering interfaith tolerance, the organization is not immune to internal hurdles. Harjanto Halim, the chairman of the association, acknowledged that the organization's vitality is waning, particularly in terms of membership regeneration. He noted that recruiting new members is difficult, especially those willing to serve as active administrators. This challenge is critical because the sustainability of the interfaith collaborative programs, which constitute the organization's core strength, heavily depends on its human resource capacity. If this regeneration issue remains unresolved, the organization's ability to maintain its role as a facilitator of tolerance in the Semarang Pecinan area could significantly decline in the long run.

DISCUSSION

Interreligious tolerance in Semarang's Chinatown did not arise spontaneously, but grew through a planned, repeated social process that was realized in various interreligious activities carried out by the Rasa Dharma Association. The social harmony that was created was the result of a combination of shared values, intensive social interaction, and adaptive management of cultural symbols. When analyzed using Émile Durkheim's Theory of Social Integration [21], various practices such as *Tuk Panjang*, interreligious *Cap Go Meh*, *Ceng Beng Gus Dur*, interreligious *King Hoo Ping*, and the *Estungkara* Forum can be seen as vehicles of social solidarity that increase solidarity and tolerance among fellow citizens. Durkheim asserts that solidarity arises from a collective consciousness that binds individuals within a shared moral system. In the context of Semarang's Chinatown, the human values upheld by Rasa Dharma serve as a collective moral foundation that unites the Chinese community with various religious communities around them, including Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and other beliefs.

However, the social integration that takes place in Semarang's Chinatown is not mechanical in nature, but rather closer to organic solidarity in Durkheim's theory, because this tolerance is built on the recognition of existing religious identity differences. Differences are not simply dissolved, but rather negotiated through social spaces shared by various religious groups. Adjustments to the norms of each religion, such as adjustments to food offerings during the *Cap Go Meh* celebration so that they can be enjoyed by the entire interreligious community, reflect the existence of normative compromises that play a role in maintaining stable social relations. Thus, these findings broaden our understanding of social integration according to Durkheim in the context of today's multireligious society, where social cohesion is built through interreligious activities.

Furthermore, these findings are consistent with research conducted by Nisa [22], which shows that harmonious relationships in multicultural societies are not formed instantly, but rather through a long-term process of interaction, whether through social or religious activities. Thus, the social integration observed in the rasa dharma community demonstrates a similar pattern: the creation of harmonious relationships through shared social and religious experiences that gradually foster mutual trust and respect for differences in religious backgrounds. Furthermore, the findings of this study are in line with Robert D. Putnam's Social Capital Theory [23], particularly the concept of bridging social capital. Dharma not only strengthens internal relationships among fellow Chinese communities (bonding social capital), but also builds bridges with various other religious communities, including Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and other teachings such as Ahmadiyya. Programs such as "Kantin Kebajikan" (Charity Canteen), the sexual violence advocacy forum (*Estungkara*), the distribution of *takjil* (food for breaking the fast), and the involvement of interreligious communities in social activities reflect the formation of a network of trust that transcends group boundaries. Putnam emphasizes that the trust and participation of local communities are the main pillars of democracy and social cohesion. In this study, this trust grew from the collective experience of eating together, going on pilgrimages together, and collaborating in social programs, which ultimately gave rise to a positive sense of interdependence among all individuals and groups involved.

However, critical analysis reveals that the social capital that has been built is still highly dependent on certain leaders and the internal commitment of organizations. If there is a change in leadership or a shift in values, the sustainability of the pattern of tolerance that

has been fostered among religious communities is threatened with extinction. This shows that the success of Rasa Dharma as an agent of social integration needs to be systematically strengthened so that it does not rely solely on certain individuals, thereby ensuring that harmony among religious communities can be maintained in a sustainable manner.

These research findings can also be explained through Gordon Allport's Social Contact Theory [24], which states that intergroup prejudice has the potential to decrease when there is direct interaction in equal conditions, based on common goals, and supported by conducive institutional norms. The interreligious activities of *Tuk Panjang* and *King Hoo Ping* fulfill these conditions, namely that participants from various religious backgrounds, such as Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and other religions, sit together on an equal footing, share collective experiences, and are in an inclusive environment created by the organization. Thus, the interaction does not stop at the symbolic level, but touches on the psychosocial dimension that can weaken stereotypes and narrow the social distance between groups.

This phenomenon is reinforced by the concept of “interrituality” proposed by Bintang and Pramono [25]. In their study of the *King Hoo Ping* prayer tradition in Semarang, religious rituals are viewed as a medium for interfaith communication without altering, blending, or erasing each party's religious identity. Through joint participation in interfaith activities, individuals from different religious backgrounds can build understanding, mutual respect, and social solidarity while maintaining their respective religious practices. This is reflected in the interfaith *King Hoo Ping* activities organized by the Rasa Dharma Association as a means of social contact and a space for interfaith communication.

However, Allport [24] also reminds us that social contact does not in itself produce tolerance without the support of a consistent institutional structure. Resistance from some more conservative circles to changes in ritual symbols shows that tolerance is always in a dynamic space of negotiation, both within the Chinese community itself and among the religious communities involved. This means that the success of social contact is highly dependent on the moral legitimacy of the organization and its capacity to manage existing diversity. Compared to previous studies on community-based tolerance, this research contributes unique empirical insights into the context of the Peranakan Chinese community in urban Central Java, which coexists with various religious communities. Unlike many previous studies that emphasized the role of the state or formal interreligious forums, this study shows that effective practices of tolerance arise from cultural rituals that are reinterpreted in an inclusive manner and then transformed into concrete social actions involving all elements of the interreligious community. Thus, this study enriches the discourse on tolerance by placing local communities as the main actors in producing social harmony.

Practically, these findings indicate that strengthening tolerance in a pluralistic society requires participatory spaces for interaction rooted in universal human values. The model developed by Rasa Dharma has the potential to be adapted in various other contexts through cultural approaches, social empowerment, and interreligious humanitarian advocacy that involves all religious communities equally. However, this study acknowledges its limitations in the scope of informants, which is still focused on key actors within the organization, such as the Chairman of the Rasa Dharma Association, Harjanto Halim, so that the perspectives of other religious communities around Chinatown have not been adequately explored. Further research needs to involve a more diverse range of informants

from various religious backgrounds and observations over a longer period of time in order to test the resilience of the social integration patterns found.

CONCLUSION

This research reveals that interreligious tolerance in Semarang's Chinatown area did not grow naturally, but through a planned, repetitive, and institutionalized social engineering process within organizational activities. Various inclusive cultural practices managed by Rasa Dharma Association, such as *Tuk Panjang*, interreligious *Cap Go Meh*, interreligious *King Hoo Ping*, *Ceng Beng Gus Dur*, and the *Estungkara* Forum, have proven capable of building sustainable social harmony between the Chinese community and diverse local religious communities, including Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and other belief groups. This harmony does not stem from shared beliefs, but from the intensity of meaningful and well-managed collective interactions. This study demonstrates that Durkheim's framework of social integration, Putnam's concept of social capital, and Allport's concept of social contact do not operate in isolation, but rather complement one another in explaining the dynamics of tolerance within multi-religious societies. This study also reinforces the relevance of Putnam's concept of bridging social capital by showing that networks of trust between religious communities can be formed through shared participation in cultural rituals and participatory social programs. Nevertheless, this research is not without several limitations. The focus on informants who are still primarily internal organizational actors means that the perspectives of religious communities outside the organization have not been adequately revealed. Furthermore, the sustainability of the observed tolerance pattern is still heavily influenced by leadership figures and internal commitment, so if there is a change in leadership or a shift in values, this pattern has the potential to experience disruption. Future research should involve more diverse religious communities and adopt longitudinal approaches to examine the sustainability of social integration. The findings also provide practical guidance for local governments and civil society organizations in developing culture-based and inclusive programs to strengthen interreligious tolerance.

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