

Internalizing Religious Tolerance through School Culture and Everyday Practices in Indonesian Junior High Schools

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ABSTRACT: This study aims to analyze the internalization of religious tolerance values through school culture, everyday practices and interreligious contact, as well as students' relational experiences at SMPN 5 Salatiga. The study employed a qualitative approach, with data collected through interviews, observations, and documentation. The findings indicate that tolerance has become institutionalized within the school culture through regulations, role modeling, equal treatment, school programs, and the management of religious activities. Routine and relatively egalitarian interreligious interactions contribute to the normalization of differences and strengthen relational tolerance. However, such social proximity is not always accompanied by a profound understanding of other religions. The internalization of tolerance becomes evident when respect for differences no longer depends primarily on school control but develops into a matter of personal moral judgment. Nevertheless, this internalization remains uneven and is still characterized more strongly by non-interference tolerance than by reflective-dialogical tolerance. Institutionalization and interreligious contact appear to foster relational tolerance more readily, whereas reflective-dialogical tolerance requires a deeper process of internalization.

KEYWORDS: Religious tolerance; value internalization; school culture; relational experience; multicultural education

INTRODUCTION

Religious diversity is a social reality that requires societies to develop the capacity to establish equitable relationships across differences in belief. In plural societies, religious tolerance cannot be understood merely as a passive willingness to allow other groups to practice their beliefs (Subqi, 2019). Rather, it encompasses recognition of rights, respect for differences, willingness to interact, and the capacity to cooperate in shared social life. This challenge is particularly relevant to Indonesia, a country characterized by substantial religious and cultural diversity. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs shows that Indonesia's Religious Harmony Index (*Indeks Kerukunan Umat Beragama*, IKUB) reached 77.89 in 2025, the highest level recorded since measurement began in 2015 and an increase from 76.40 in 2024. Notably, the tolerance dimension scored 88.82 and equality 79.35, whereas the togetherness dimension reached only 65.49. These figures suggest that acceptance of differences is relatively strong, yet its transformation into meaningful intergroup interaction and cooperation still requires further strengthening (Handayani et al., 2025; Kementerian Agama, 2021).

The gap between normative acceptance and actual togetherness places education in a strategically important position. Schools are not merely spaces for the transmission of religious knowledge; they are also social arenas in which students repeatedly encounter different identities, beliefs, and cultural backgrounds (Kuswanto et al., 2023). Tolerance should therefore be understood as both a social competence and a moral disposition that develops through experience, interaction, habituation, and the institutional climate of the school. Sirry, in a study involving 152 teachers from 28 secondary schools across four cities in East Java, demonstrated that teachers play an important role in tolerance education (Sirry et al., 2024). However, understandings of tolerance are not always substantively translated into classroom practices and interreligious interactions. This finding points to a gap between knowing about tolerance and experiencing difference in concrete social contexts.

This line of inquiry further underscores that demographic diversity does not automatically generate positive intergroup relationships. Although diverse schools provide opportunities for contact, the quality of such relationships is strongly influenced by school climate, teacher support, equality of status, peer norms, and opportunities for cooperation. Chan and Benner (2025), for example, found that school diversity can broaden opportunities for cross-group friendships, but such relationships require a school climate that supports positive interaction. Similarly, Grütter et al. emphasized that student diversity alone is insufficient; teachers

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occupy an important position as facilitators of inclusive intergroup dynamics (Grütter et al., 2026). The mere presence of students from different religious backgrounds must therefore be distinguished from the development of meaningful interreligious contact. Such contact is important because relational experiences can influence how adolescents perceive and evaluate other groups. The longitudinal study by Váradi et al. (2025) showed that increased intergroup contact can weaken the influence of peer norms that support prejudice. At the level of moral development, Yee et al. (2025) found that moral reasoning in response to intergroup exclusion is associated with more inclusive orientations. Other studies have shown that school policies that recognize diversity and promote equality and positive contact contribute to students' sense of belonging and adjustment (Froehlich et al., 2024). These findings indicate that tolerance is shaped not only by what students know about other groups but also by how they experience differences in everyday school life.

This perspective is particularly relevant in Salatiga, a city socially recognized for its plural religious ecosystem. The broader context of Central Java also reflects a positive trend: the provincial IKUB increased from 77.90 in 2023 to 78.98 in 2024 and 80.07 in 2025, exceeding the national average (Kemenag, 2025). At the local level, Salatiga's reputation as a tolerant city provides a conducive structural context. Nevertheless, city-level indicators do not explain how tolerance is produced and experienced in students' everyday lives at the micro level. Salatiga's reputation for tolerance therefore needs to be examined through concrete social practices within educational institutions.

SMP Negeri 5 Salatiga provides a relevant empirical site for examining this process. School documentation indicates that tolerance is positioned not merely as a normative discourse but is articulated through institutional programs. On October 20–21, 2023, the school organized Gebyar TOGA BU DESI, an acronym for *Toleransi dalam Beragama, Berbudaya, dan Inklusif* (Tolerance in Religion, Culture, and Inclusion), which brought artistic, cultural, and religious diversity into the school environment. Such practices are significant because they demonstrate an effort to transform diversity from a demographic condition into a lived social experience. In everyday school life, this process may also take place through interreligious study groups, friendships, shared activities, equal treatment (Huda, 2023), respect for religious observance, teacher role modeling, and the organization of spaces for interaction among students (Anas et al., 2025; Haga et al., 2022; Nugroho, 2024).

At this point, an important research problem emerges that has not been adequately addressed in previous studies. Research on tolerance education in Indonesia has more frequently emphasized teachers' perceptions, religious moderation, religious education, or tolerance programs, whereas international scholarship has often examined school diversity climate, intergroup contact, cross-identity friendships, peer norms, and moral reasoning as separate phenomena. A study of secondary school students in Batu, for example, showed that living in a heterogeneous environment can provide opportunities to learn about the religious practices of others, although tolerance education still requires deeper interreligious dialogue and religious literacy (Ilyas et al., 2026). Relatively few studies have explained how tolerance values move continuously from the institutional culture of the school, through experiences of interreligious contact, and ultimately become internalized as students' tolerant orientations and behaviors, particularly at the junior high school level in Indonesia (Muktar & Burhan, 2025).

This study addresses this gap by conceptualizing religious tolerance as a process of internalization occurring within the broader school ecosystem rather than merely as an outcome of formal instruction. Its novelty lies in connecting three analytical layers: institutional school culture, everyday practices and interreligious contact, and students' relational experiences in the formation of tolerant dispositions. This perspective enables the analysis to move from institutionalized tolerance, to experienced tolerance, and ultimately to practiced tolerance. Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the process through which religious tolerance values are internalized through school culture; identify everyday school practices and interreligious contact that shape students' experiences of tolerance; and examine the interrelationships among school culture, relational experiences, and student behavior in the formation of religious tolerance at SMP Negeri 5 Salatiga

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a qualitative approach with a case study design. A qualitative approach was adopted because the study sought to develop an in-depth understanding of the processes, experiences, meanings, and social practices associated with the internalization of religious tolerance values within the natural setting of the school (Creswell, 1998). A case study design was selected because it enables intensive analysis of a contemporary phenomenon while taking into account the relationship between the phenomenon and its real-life context (Yin, 2003). The case examined in this study was the internalization of religious tolerance values within the culture and everyday practices of Salatiga State Junior High School 5. The study was conducted from January to March 2026.

Informants were selected through purposive sampling, which involves identifying individuals with direct experience, knowledge, and involvement in the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 2015). The informants comprised the principal, vice principal for student affairs, Religious Education teachers, Pancasila Education teachers, Guidance and Counseling teachers, homeroom

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teachers, and students from different religious backgrounds. Student selection took into account variations in religious affiliation and experiences of social interaction in order to capture diverse perspectives on tolerance practices within the school.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. The interviews explored school policies and culture, understandings of tolerance, teacher role modeling, value habituation, interreligious interactions, and students' experiences of encountering differences. Observations focused on classroom learning, social interactions, religious activities, the use of shared spaces, and school activities that reflected practices of acceptance and respect for diversity. Documentary data included school policies, codes of conduct, activity programs, instructional documents, and records of socio-religious activities. The use of multiple sources of evidence is important in case study research because it enables a contextual and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Yin, 2003).

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis adapted from Miles & Huberman (1994), encompassing data familiarization, coding, development of initial themes, theme review, theme definition and naming, interpretation, and report writing. The analysis focused on the relationships among school culture, everyday practices, relational experiences, value habituation, and the internalization of religious tolerance. Analysis was conducted iteratively throughout the data collection process, allowing emerging findings to be continuously compared and examined in greater depth.

The credibility of the findings was maintained through source and methodological triangulation, member checking, and prolonged and persistent observation. Interview data were compared with observational and documentary evidence, while information requiring clarification was confirmed with the relevant informants. Ethical principles included informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation, and the protection of students participating as informants. Through these procedures, the study sought to generate a credible and contextually grounded interpretation of the mechanisms underlying the internalization of religious tolerance within the school environment.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Internalization of Tolerance Values through School Culture

The findings indicate that religious tolerance at SMPN 5 Salatiga has moved beyond a value that is merely taught to become a norm institutionalized within the school culture. This pattern is evident in school regulations, teacher role modeling, equal treatment of students, group formation without strong religious segregation, school programs, and the management of religious activities. Tolerance therefore operates not only at the level of knowing about tolerance but also as a principle governing everyday social relationships. This finding demonstrates a shift from normative instruction to institutionalized tolerance, a condition in which respect for differences receives structural and cultural support from the school as an institution.

Data from Gebyar TOGA BU DESI (Toleransi dalam Beragama, Berbudaya, dan Inklusif; Tolerance in Religion, Culture, and Inclusion) reinforce this pattern. Organized by SMPN 5 Salatiga in October 2023, the event presented expressions of diversity through performances such as Tambourine Dance, Barongsai, Rebana, a bazaar, and the P5 Project Showcase, and was incorporated into a broader initiative to strengthen the Child-Friendly School program. Analytically, therefore, TOGA BU DESI should not be understood merely as a ceremonial event. Rather, it represents a symbolic reinforcement of an institutional norm: the school openly legitimizes diversity as an integral part of its institutional identity and everyday life.

This interpretation is consistent with research on the cultural diversity climate. Bardach meta-analysis of 79 studies involving more than 56,000 students demonstrated that how schools construct a climate of diversity is associated with intergroup attitudes, cross-group friendships, experiences of discrimination, and various socio-emotional outcomes (Bardach et al., 2024). School culture is therefore not simply a backdrop against which interactions occur; it constitutes a normative structure that determines whether differences are legitimized, ignored, or transformed into a basis for exclusion. At SMPN 5, tolerance is institutionally legitimized because diversity is not concealed but is actively given space within school practices.

This institutionalization does not mean that all identity boundaries are eliminated. Instead, the findings reveal a more complex configuration: the school facilitates broad encounters in academic and social domains while maintaining differentiation in the domain of religious rituals. A similar pattern can be observed in the broader social context of Salatiga. Interfaith Prayer activities held as part of Salatiga's anniversary celebrations bring different religious communities together within a shared agenda, while prayers themselves continue to be conducted according to each community's respective religious tradition. These city-level data cannot be treated as a direct cause of students' attitudes; nevertheless, they demonstrate contextual alignment between the school culture and the broader social environment.

The first finding can therefore be more appropriately conceptualized as the institutionalization of tolerance through managed coexistence. The school reduces social boundaries without eliminating ritual boundaries. However, this model also has limitations: discussions of theological differences remain relatively restricted. Institutionalization has created conditions that substantively support peaceful coexistence, but it has not yet fully developed dialogical tolerance. This distinction is important because the

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ability to coexist peacefully with people who hold different beliefs is not synonymous with the ability to understand those differences reflectively.

Everyday School Practices and Interreligious Contact

While school culture provides a normative structure, everyday school life provides the relational mechanisms through which tolerance develops. Students from different religious backgrounds study together, form friendships, work collaboratively in groups, and participate in school activities without strong religious segregation. The significance of this finding lies not simply in the existence of contact but in its routine and relatively egalitarian character. Repeated interactions make religious differences increasingly familiar, thereby reducing the extent to which religious identity functions as a boundary in determining friendship and cooperation.

This finding can be explained through Intergroup Contact Theory, proposed that intergroup contact is more conducive to reducing prejudice when it occurs under conditions of equal status, common goals, cooperation, and institutional support (Allport, 1954). Contemporary educational literature continues to demonstrate the relevance of these mechanisms. Research on intergroup contact in educational contexts emphasizes that schools constitute strategic environments for creating frequent, positive, meaningful, and cooperative interactions, while also cautioning that contact cannot be treated as a stand-alone solution to prejudice and inequality. The meta-analysis similarly demonstrates the relevance of cooperative learning for intergroup relations in educational settings (Tondok et al., 2024).

SMPN 5 provides some of these conditions through its everyday practices. Students enter into relationships not solely as “Muslims,” “Christians,” or members of other religious categories, but also as classmates, group members, and fellow members of the school community. Religious identity remains present, but it intersects with a shared social identity as students. This process helps explain the normalization of difference: differences do not disappear, but they increasingly lose their capacity to generate social distance.

Nevertheless, the findings reveal an important limitation of contact theory. Interreligious contact more clearly generates relational tolerance than a deep understanding of other religions. Close relationships with peers of different faiths do not automatically enable students to understand their friends’ belief systems, religious experiences, or theological perspectives. Highlights the importance of interreligious competence in Indonesia’s multireligious school contexts, including the capacity to accept and respect differences in sustaining coexistence within schools (Utami, 2022). The findings from SMPN 5 refine this argument by demonstrating that relational acceptance may develop before interreligious competence.

A distinction must therefore be made between social proximity and depth of understanding. Contemporary literature likewise indicates that the effects of contact depend on the quality and context of interaction: positive contact tends to support intergroup relationships, whereas negative contact can exacerbate tensions (Policardo et al., 2025). The findings from SMPN 5 therefore do more than confirm contact theory; they refine its explanatory boundaries. Contact can normalize differences and reduce social distance, but it does not, by itself, generate interreligious reflection and literacy.

From Relational Experience to the Internalization of Tolerance

The findings reveal a shift in tolerance from external control toward personal moral judgment. The process begins with compliance with school norms, develops through the habituation of respect for differences, and, among some students, evolves into moral reasoning based on reciprocity: other people’s beliefs should be respected in the same way that individuals expect their own beliefs to be respected. At this point, tolerance begins to move from institutionally regulated behavior toward an individual moral disposition.

However, habituation should not be equated with internalization. Habituation refers to behavioral consistency resulting from social repetition, whereas internalization requires a transformation in the source of behavioral regulation. Based on the findings, internalization can be identified through three analytical indicators: reduced dependence on external control, consistent respect within social relationships, and the emergence of personal moral reasons for maintaining tolerant behavior. The final indicator constitutes an important distinction between students who merely comply with the school culture and those who have incorporated respect for differences into their own moral judgment.

Contemporary literature on moral development supports the importance of the social environment in this process. Through the Social Reasoning Developmental Model, Rutland et al (2024) demonstrate that children’s and adolescents’ reasoning about inclusion and exclusion involves moral considerations, group norms, social identity, empathy, intergroup contact, and perspective-taking. A school environment that reinforces inclusive norms can therefore support the development of students’ capacity to reject

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social exclusion. The findings from SMPN 5 indicate that institutional norms and relational experiences can provide conditions conducive to this development, although the outcomes are not uniform across all students.

The limits of internalization are evident in the predominance of tolerance in the form of non-interference; respecting others, refraining from disturbing them, and not interfering with their beliefs. Such an orientation is important for maintaining stability in multireligious settings, but it is not synonymous with reflective-dialogical tolerance. Individuals may refrain from interfering with others without developing the capacity to understand their perspectives in depth. The school's achievement is therefore stronger in reducing social distance than in reducing the distance of understanding.

Dimension	Main Mechanism	Outcome	Limitation	Theoretical Implication
School culture	Norms, role modeling, equality, and legitimization of diversity	Institutionalized tolerance	Limited theological dialogue	An inclusive culture creates structural conditions for tolerance
Interreligious contact	Routine contact, cooperation, and relatively equal status	Normalization of differences and relational tolerance	Interreligious understanding does not develop automatically	Refines contact theory: social proximity $\neq$ interreligious competence
Internalization	Habituation, reciprocity, and personal moral regulation	Tolerance begins to become a disposition	Non-interference remains dominant	Internalization requires a transformation from habituation to moral reasoning

Taken together, these three findings demonstrate a multilevel but non-linear mechanism: institutional culture creates conditions for contact; repeated contact normalizes differences; and relational experiences facilitate habituation, which may subsequently develop into internalization when students construct personal moral reasons for respecting differences. However, each transition remains contingent. Institutionalization does not automatically produce internalization, just as contact does not automatically generate interreligious understanding.

This is where the study's principal contribution lies. The findings demonstrate a gap between relational tolerance and reflective-dialogical tolerance. SMPN 5 has been relatively successful in establishing conditions that enable students to coexist across religious differences, yet the capacity to understand those differences reflectively develops more unevenly and remains more limited. The findings therefore confirm the benefits of intergroup contact while refining this perspective by demonstrating that institutionalization and contact reduce social distance more readily than they foster a deep understanding of other religions. The internalization of tolerance should consequently not be measured solely by the absence of conflict or the existence of interreligious friendships, but by the transformation of respect from an institutional requirement into a matter of personal moral judgment. The distinction between living peacefully with difference and reflectively understanding difference constitutes the central analytical contribution of this study.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the internalization of religious tolerance values at SMPN 5 Salatiga occurs through the interplay of school culture, experiences of interreligious relationships, and the development of students' moral judgment. At the institutional level, tolerance has moved beyond normative instructional content to become a value embedded in school regulations, role modeling, equal treatment, school programs, and the management of diversity. This pattern creates a form of managed coexistence, in which spaces for interreligious social and academic interaction remain open while boundaries in the ritual domain are maintained.

At the relational level, routine, relatively egalitarian, and minimally segregated interactions make religious differences increasingly familiar and reduce social distance among students. However, interreligious contact is more effective in fostering relational tolerance than in developing a deep understanding of other religions. Social proximity, therefore, does not automatically develop into a reflective competence for understanding the beliefs of others.

Internalization occurs when tolerance begins to shift from compliance with school control toward a personal moral disposition. This process is indicated by reduced dependence on external regulation, consistent respect in social interactions, and the emergence of reciprocity-based moral reasoning. Nevertheless, the degree of internalization remains uneven; non-interference tolerance continues to be more prevalent than reflective-dialogical tolerance.

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