

Habitus of Harmony and Digital Adaptation: Interreligious Coexistence in Rural Indonesia during the Disruptive Era

Moh. Shofiylul Huda MF^{1*}, Tasmin², Muhammad Ayman al-Akiti³

¹ UIN Syekh Wasil Kediri, Indonesia; email: shofiylulhuda@uinkediri.ac.id

² UIN Syekh Wasil Kediri, Indonesia; email: tasmin721@uinkediri.ac.id

³ International Islamic University of Malaysia, Malaysia; email: ayman@iiu.edu.my

* Correspondence

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Abstract: This study analyzes the habituation practices of interreligious harmony in the disruptive era by examining Tanon Village, a multi-faith rural community in Kediri Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The village represents a unique case of long-standing plural coexistence that has successfully transitioned into the digital age. Employing a qualitative descriptive-analytical approach, the research integrates Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and documentation of both offline and online interactions, including community WhatsApp groups and YouTube-based content. The findings reveal three interrelated dimensions that sustain harmony: the *reproduction of habitus* through everyday interfaith practices such as *slametan*, *gotong royong*, and mutual participation in religious festivities; the *adaptation of habitus* within the digital field, where technology facilitates new forms of dialogue, coordination, and symbolic representation; and the *integration of social and cultural capital* through collaboration among religious leaders, youth, and village officials, reinforcing trust, empathy, and inclusivity. Together, these mechanisms demonstrate that interreligious harmony in Tanon is organic, adaptive, and transgenerational—rooted in local traditions yet responsive to technological change. The findings affirm that digital technology, when grounded in moral and cultural capital, can strengthen rather than threaten interfaith relations. The originality of this research lies in its integration of Bourdieu's theoretical framework with digital ethnography, producing a new perspective for understanding how traditional values of tolerance are rearticulated and sustained within an ever-evolving digital ecosystem.

Keywords: Adaptive pluralism; Bourdieu; digital religion; interreligious harmony; social capital.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini menganalisis praktik habituasi harmoni antarumat beragama pada era disrupsi dengan mengambil studi kasus Desa Tanon, sebuah komunitas multikeagamaan di Kabupaten Kediri, Jawa Timur, Indonesia. Desa ini merepresentasikan model unik keberagaman yang mampu beradaptasi dengan perkembangan teknologi digital tanpa kehilangan akar tradisi lokalnya. Pendekatan penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan desain deskriptif-analitis, mengintegrasikan kerangka teori Pierre Bourdieu. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, serta dokumentasi aktivitas daring dan luring, termasuk interaksi melalui grup WhatsApp lintas agama dan kanal YouTube komunitas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan tiga dimensi utama yang menopang keberlanjutan harmoni: *reproduksi habitus* melalui praktik keseharian lintas agama seperti *slametan*, *gotong royong*, dan partisipasi bersama dalam perayaan keagamaan; *adaptasi habitus* dalam ranah digital, di mana teknologi menjadi medium baru bagi dialog, koordinasi, dan representasi simbolik; serta *integrasi modal sosial dan modal kultural* melalui kolaborasi pemuka agama, pemuda, dan aparat desa yang memperkuat kepercayaan, empati, serta inklusivitas. Ketiga mekanisme ini menunjukkan bahwa harmoni di Tanon bersifat organik, adaptif, dan lintas generasi—berakar pada tradisi lokal namun responsif terhadap perubahan teknologi. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa teknologi digital, ketika berpijak pada modal moral dan budaya, dapat memperkuat hubungan lintas iman daripada mengancamnya. Keaslian penelitian terletak pada integrasi teori Bourdieu dengan etnografi digital, menghasilkan perspektif baru dalam memahami bagaimana nilai-nilai

toleransi tradisional direartikulasi dan dipertahankan dalam ekosistem digital yang terus berkembang.

Kata kunci: Pluralisme adaptif; Bourdieu; agama digital; harmoni antaragama; modal sosial.

1. Introduction

Religious harmony constitutes a fundamental pillar of national and global societal life, particularly in pluralistic contexts where religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity coexist. In many parts of the world, from Southeast Asia to Europe and the Americas, the challenge of sustaining harmony amid differences remains central to ensuring social stability and inclusive development (Sirait, 2024). Within this global landscape, Indonesia stands as one of the most diverse nations, making the study of harmony highly relevant beyond its borders. Harmony is not merely a normative discourse but also an ideological, ontological, and empirical reality. As an ideological reality, it requires the principles of tolerance, equality, and cooperation among religious communities (Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementrian Agama RI, 2019). At the same time, as an ontological and empirical reality, harmony is manifested in the everyday practices of living peacefully side by side among people of different faiths.

In practice, however, this reality is not always linear. Communities often face two opposing dynamics: on the one hand, dualism—manifested in conflict, intolerance, and religious exclusivism; and on the other hand, duality—represented by social harmony built through interreligious tolerance and collaboration. Such dualism can be seen in various religious conflicts in Indonesia, such as the Muslim-Christian conflict in Ambon (1999), Toli-Toli (2015), the Sunni-Shi'a conflict in Sampang (2012), and the Muslim-Buddhist conflicts in South Lampung (2012) and Tanjung Balai (2016) (Aziz, 2019; Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementrian Agama RI, 2019; Yusuf, 2013). The Setara Institute (2023) reported that in 2022 alone, there were 175 incidents involving 333 violations of freedom of religion and belief (FoRB) in Indonesia. However, during the same period, the Research, Development, and Training Agency of the Ministry of Religious Affairs 2021 reported that Indonesia's Religious Harmony Index reached 72.39 (on a scale of 0–100), indicating that the foundation of social harmony remained relatively strong (Ayu, 2021).

Efforts to foster and sustain this harmony must be continuously cultivated rather than treated as a static condition. In the digital era, these efforts become increasingly complex. The disruptive era—characterized by advances in information technology, social media, and artificial intelligence—has transformed the ways communities interact, including in religious contexts. Digital technology creates new spaces for virtual interreligious encounters, while simultaneously presenting new challenges such as disinformation, identity polarization, and symbolic contestation in digital spaces (Puspitasari, 2020). As Fukuyama (1999) argues, religious social capital—which encompasses trust, respect, and cooperation—must be renewed within the context of digital society so that these values remain alive and relevant in cyberspace.

Research on interreligious harmony has thus far been examined along several tendencies. The first tendency focuses on the practice of harmony built through face-to-face interactions within social or urban spaces, emphasizing the importance of physical proximity and cultural practices in sustaining peaceful coexistence. Studies have shown that spatial dynamics in urban environments serve as critical arenas for fostering interaction and shared experiences that build mutual understanding (Jucker et al., 2018; Lahode, Lang, & Sutter, 2020; Shen, Karimi, Law, & Zhong, 2019). In the Indonesian context, Rahmawanto and Rahyono (2019) demonstrate how Javanese communication ethics and speech strategies in *wayang kulit* performances embody the principle of maintaining *rukun* (harmony) through careful linguistic choices. Similarly, in Oman, Russell (2020) highlights that local norms governing posture and spatial arrangement in face-to-face encounters reflect cultural mechanisms for preserving social balance and respect. On a broader social level, Collins (2020) emphasizes that face-to-face interaction rituals are essential to building solidarity, a notion reinforced during the COVID-19 pandemic when restrictions on physical encounters disrupted social cohesion. Community-based

studies further illustrate that urban participation and neighborhood collaboration can reactivate social bonds and enhance urban harmony (Treija, Stauskis, Koroļova, & Bratuškins, 2023). In Indonesia, Juhari (2019) and Mujiyono et al. (2024) find that post-conflict reconciliation and family-level conflict resolution both rely on direct, empathetic engagement embedded in local culture. Taken together, these studies underscore that face-to-face encounters remain the foundational medium for cultivating harmony, trust, and solidarity in plural societies.

The second tendency emphasizes the normative and pedagogical dimensions in sustaining harmony, focusing on the cultivation of ethical values, moral regulation, and inclusive education as foundations for peaceful coexistence. Normatively, harmony is maintained through shared cultural and linguistic norms that affirm diversity and disrupt deficit ideologies, as reflected in the framework of *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy* (CSP), which seeks to sustain rather than erase the cultural practices of marginalized communities (Alim, Paris, & Wong, 2020; Leu Bonanno, 2023; Restrepo-Widney & Sembiente, 2023). This framework is strengthened by moral concepts of goodness, altruism, and prosocial behavior that form the ethical bedrock of social harmony (Dvoretzky, Bakulina, & Kozlov, 2023; Zou, 2008). Pedagogically, harmony can be achieved through educational designs that foster moderation, empathy, and justice. Such value-based approaches align with broader models of culturally responsive education that empower learners through inclusion, critical consciousness, and democratic participation (Cheruvu, 2019; Marshall, 2023). Furthermore, pedagogical studies in music and peace education demonstrate that harmony can be taught not only as a moral virtue but also as a cognitive and aesthetic skill shaped by socio-cultural context (Shapiro, 2021; Xiaona, 2024). The principle of *Āyusasa Dhamma*, emphasizing moderation and virtuous living among the elderly, also exemplifies how moral education contributes to holistic well-being and social balance (Samleewong et al., 2025). Despite these advances, most of these frameworks remain normative and pedagogical in focus, offering prescriptive ideals of tolerance and moral development but less attention to how such values are negotiated and operationalized in the lived, digitally mediated practices of contemporary communities.

The third tendency highlights the role of community initiatives and socio-political frameworks in promoting and sustaining social harmony. Community-based movements have proven essential in fostering interreligious coexistence through inclusive participation and shared civic engagement. In the United Arab Emirates, for instance, community initiatives have been central to cultivating a culture of tolerance and interreligious dialogue by engaging citizens from diverse backgrounds in collaborative social activities (Al-Karbi, Al-Salhi, & Al-Karbi, 2025). Similar patterns are observed in community development efforts across the Global South, where participatory management and local co-governance strengthen self-reliance and social capital among marginalized groups (Barker, 2005). Community-led initiatives also serve as laboratories of social innovation, though they often face tensions between political interests, organizational sustainability, and everyday aspirations for change (Fischer, Holstead, Hendrickson, Virkkula, & Prampolini, 2017). From a socio-political perspective, harmony is further reinforced when government frameworks align with grassroots initiatives to build resilience, enhance local capacity, and institutionalize inclusivity as a governance principle (Dale & Newman, 2010; Othengrafen, Ziehl, & Herrmann, 2024). In the Indonesian context, such synergy is evident in the collaborative participation of Muslim and Hindu communities in shared ritual practices which strengthens social solidarity and exemplifies local expressions of pluralism (Arjawa & Zulkifli, 2021). Likewise, Bensaid and Machouche (2019) underscore that moral and ethical foundations derived from Islamic teachings serve as an indispensable bridge for fostering social rapprochement, justice, and collective well-being. These findings collectively demonstrate that harmony emerges not only from top-down regulatory frameworks but also from the dynamic interaction between community initiatives, socio-political alignment, and shared moral values that sustain social cohesion across cultural and religious divides.

Despite the breadth of existing scholarship on interreligious harmony, most studies remain concentrated on macro-level analyses while offering limited attention to how harmony is practiced, negotiated, and transformed in everyday life, particularly within rural contexts and digital

environments. Previous works have richly explored face-to-face interaction and normative education as sources of tolerance, yet they often overlook how digital technologies reshape social fields and moral dispositions. Similarly, community-based and socio-political frameworks have largely been examined in urban or policy-oriented settings, leaving the micro-sociological dimensions of harmony underexplored. This gap is critical in the current disruptive era, where online interactions increasingly intersect with local cultural practices, creating hybrid spaces of coexistence that challenge traditional modes of interfaith engagement. Consequently, there is an urgent need for studies that examine how the habitus of interreligious harmony adapts within digital spheres, integrating social and cultural capital in sustaining plural coexistence at the grassroots level.

Building on this research gap, the present study aims to analyze the habituation practices of interreligious harmony in the disruptive era by taking Tanon Village, Papar Subdistrict, Kediri Regency, East Java as a representative case. The selection of Tanon Village is grounded in its long-standing tradition of interfaith coexistence and its distinctive adaptation of communal values into digital spaces. Specifically, this research seeks to (1) explore how the habitus of religious harmony is reproduced and transmitted across generations; (2) examine the processes through which this habitus is negotiated and transformed within digital fields such as social media, community WhatsApp groups, and YouTube-based cultural content; and (3) investigate how social and cultural capital interact to reinforce tolerance, cooperation, and collective identity in both offline and online contexts. By integrating Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework with contemporary digital ethnography, this study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of how local communities sustain plural coexistence amid technological disruption, offering an empirical model of digitally mediated harmony that bridges traditional values with modern communication practices.

Theoretically, this study is grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) sociological framework, which articulates three interrelated concepts as analytical tools for understanding how social practices are structured and transformed. In the context of interreligious harmony, *habitus* refers to the internalized dispositions, attitudes, and embodied values that have been historically cultivated through long-term interfaith interactions and shared cultural rituals. These dispositions—rooted in traditions such as *slametan*, *gotong royong*, and interfaith participation—serve as the moral infrastructure of coexistence. Yet, the emergence of the digital field introduces a new set of logics shaped by algorithms, visibility politics, and symbolic competition, compelling traditional *habitus* to negotiate its relevance within online spaces. This study therefore argues that the harmony observed in Tanon Village represents not merely a reproduction of inherited values but a transformation of habitus, a process in which *social capital* (trust, networks, and cooperation) and *cultural capital* (religious values, local wisdom, and digital literacy) converge to produce a hybrid form of digitally mediated harmony. Such an argument positions this research as a conceptual bridge between classical sociological theory and contemporary studies of digital religion, offering an integrative model of adaptive pluralism that explains how local communities sustain tolerance, solidarity, and coexistence amid accelerating technological disruption.

2. Method

This study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical design. The choice of this approach was based on the need to deeply understand the meanings, experiences, and social dynamics surrounding the practice of interreligious harmony in Tanon Village, Papar Subdistrict, Kediri Regency. A qualitative approach enables the researcher to explore the nuances of social life that are not immediately visible, particularly those related to interfaith interactions and the role of technology within them (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Rather than measuring or generalizing, this study aims to capture the meanings and contexts embedded in existing social practices (Denzin Yvonna S., 2009).

In general, the unit of analysis in this study is the interfaith community in Tanon Village, although data were collected from individuals. The focus is not on individuals as private entities but on the social patterns and practices formed through collective intergroup relations. This approach allows the

researcher to observe how values of harmony and tolerance are experienced and practiced within the context of communal life (Silverman, 2016).

Primary data were gathered through in-depth interviews with 18 informants from diverse backgrounds, including religious leaders, interfaith youth, hamlet heads, and ordinary villagers actively involved in social activities. Additionally, the researcher conducted direct observations of residents' daily activities, including collaborative events such as community clean-ups, village deliberation forums, and interfaith celebrations. Supplementary data were obtained from village documents, community event archives, and digital media content used by residents, such as interfaith WhatsApp groups and the community's YouTube channel.

For data analysis, the researcher employed thematic analysis techniques. This process began with repeated reading and reviewing of interview transcripts and field notes, followed by the identification of emerging themes. Each theme was analyzed in relation to the social and cultural context in which the data emerged and was connected to Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework of *habitus* and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1996), *habitus* refers to internalized mental structures and dispositions that play a crucial role in shaping social interactions. Using this framework, the researcher was able to uncover how social values related to harmony and tolerance are practiced by the Tanon community.

To enhance data validity, triangulation strategies were employed. Triangulation was conducted in terms of sources (involving informants from various backgrounds), methods (combining interviews, observations, and document studies), and theory (interpreting practices of harmony through more than one theoretical lens, such as social capital and habitus theories) (Flick, 2018). In addition, expert opinions were incorporated into the triangulation process, particularly from scholars of interreligious studies and local cultural practitioners, to provide an external perspective and critical reflection on the findings. These expert insights deepened the interpretation of harmony practices, ensuring that the analysis was not only grounded in community narratives but also enriched by academic and professional viewpoints. Through triangulation, the researcher ensured that the interpretations were not derived from a single perspective but reflected the diversity of viewpoints within the community.

Throughout the analysis process, an interpretative and reflective approach was used to capture meanings that may not be explicitly stated, including emotional dynamics, values, and survival strategies in the face of social change. The results are presented descriptively, complemented by direct quotes from informants and depictions of the local context, allowing readers to experience the life of Tanon Village in a vivid and comprehensive manner (Sugiyono, 2019).

3. Results

Reproduction of the Habitus of Interreligious Harmony in Community Practices

Tanon Village, located in Papar Subdistrict, Kediri Regency, had a total population of 3,144 people at the end of 2020. The uniqueness of this village lies in the religious diversity of its residents. Four religions are represented in the village: Islam, Hinduism, Catholicism, and Protestant Christianity. Of the total population, approximately half identify as Muslim, while the other half are non-Muslim, with the majority adhering to Hinduism (40%) and around 10% practicing Christianity and Catholicism (Aini, 2023). No resident of Tanon lives without faith; every individual is bound to one of the officially recognized religions.

This religious diversity has made Tanon Village widely recognized, not only within Kediri Regency but also as an exemplary site of religious tolerance in Indonesia. According to Kusnadi, the head of Tanon Village, interreligious harmony is maintained because the community has internalized and practiced the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) in their daily lives. The principle of living side by side in difference has become a deeply ingrained *habitus*, transmitted from generation to generation (Kusnadi, Personal Communication, July 11, 2024).

Table 1. Population of Tanon Village by Religion

Religion	Approximate Number	Percentage (%)
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Islam	1,572	50%
Hinduism	1,258	40%
Christianity/Catholicism	314	10%
Total	3,144	100%

Source: Aini, 2023.

With this demographic profile, Tanon Village has long been known as a social space where religious diversity is not regarded as a source of conflict, but rather as the foundation of communal life. Tolerance has been practiced for generations through solidarity, *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), and mutual respect among different faiths. The village's reputation as a center of interreligious harmony is therefore not a new claim, but a historical reality that continues to be preserved today.

Field observations show that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village is concretely manifested in various socio-religious activities carried out in face-to-face settings. One of the most prominent practices is the tradition of *slametan*, a communal feast attended by Muslims, Christians, and Hindus alike. A *slametan* is typically held to mark events such as births, deaths, weddings, or particular celebrations, and is followed by prayers and a shared meal. The presence of multiple religious groups in this event illustrates that *slametan* serves as a social space that transcends dogmatic boundaries, while simultaneously affirming the sense of togetherness among villagers.



Figure 1. The Slametan Tradition in Tanon Village

Source: Personal Documentation, 2024.

In addition to *slametan*, the celebration of *Maulid Nabi Saw* also serves as a space for togetherness. Muslim residents as the organizers open opportunities for participation by their non-Muslim neighbors, whether by attending, helping to prepare the event, or joining in the communal feast. The presence of Christian and Hindu residents in the *Maulid* celebration is not limited to their role as "guests," but rather as integral members of the community who contribute to the success of the event. The same applies in reverse during Christmas celebrations. Muslim and Hindu residents visit Christian households, extend greetings, and even take part in preparations and neighborhood security. A Christian leader, Immanuel, emphasized:

We never feel different here in Tanon. When Muslims hold a celebration, such as *Maulid Nabi* or a wedding, we are always there to help—sometimes we set up the tents, sometimes we cook together, and sometimes we simply come to share in their joy. The same happens when we celebrate Christmas or Easter. Our Muslim and Hindu neighbors do not hesitate to come, greet us,

and even join us at the table. We exchange food, greetings, and sometimes even prayers of goodwill. It is not a matter of formality, but something that has become part of our lives. We have grown up with this habit, so for us it feels completely natural. We never feel different because religion does not separate us; instead, it teaches us to respect and to stand together as one community (Immanuel, Personal Communication, July 24, 2024).

Interreligious socio-religious activities are also evident in the celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day. Field documentation recorded the participation of residents of all faiths in preparing a *tumpeng* with the theme "Unity in Diversity." The event included a joint prayer led alternately by representatives of different religions. This moment reinforced the idea that nationalism and religious diversity are not separated but integrated into a single space of interaction rich with symbols of togetherness.



Figure 2. "Unity" Tumpeng in the Celebration of Indonesian Independence Day

Source: Personal Documentation, 2024.

Another form of face-to-face interreligious harmony is seen in the practice of guarding places of worship during major religious holidays. When Christians celebrate Christmas or Hindus hold religious ceremonies, Muslim residents assist in guarding churches or temples. Likewise, Christians and Hindus do the same when Muslims observe *Idul Fitri* or *Idul Adha*. Field observations recorded scenes of residents from different faiths standing side by side in front of a church as a joint security team when Hindus conducted their prayers. Their presence was not merely symbolic but represented a genuine act of interfaith protection carried out voluntarily.

Beyond religious and national rituals, interreligious solidarity also manifests in everyday collective activities. For instance, the exchange of food among neighbors during religious celebrations

has long been an ordinary practice. When Muslims prepare food for *slametan* or Eid, the dishes are shared with Christian and Hindu neighbors. Conversely, Christians share Christmas cakes or Easter meals, while Hindus do the same during *Odalan* ceremonies. These simple activities reflect the permeability of religious boundaries in daily life.

There is also the practice of interfaith *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) in cleaning the Baiturrohman Mosque in Dusun Payak. Residents of different religious backgrounds—Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Catholics—enthusiastically participated in cleaning the Muslim house of worship. The activity involved not only mosque congregants but also interfaith community members who worked together to clean the floors, yard, windows, carpets, and prayer facilities. Their participation demonstrates that tolerance does not remain at the level of discourse or symbolism but is enacted through very concrete forms of shared labor (Luthfi, 2023).

A village resident, Kristianto, explained that this interfaith work activity serves as evidence that Tanon deserves to be called “Kampung Pancasila.” He emphasized that the participation of residents from all religions in cleaning the mosque reflects a shared concern for maintaining harmony and confirms that bonds of solidarity transcend doctrinal boundaries (Kristianto, Personal Communication, July 15, 2025). Similarly, Jumadi, the caretaker of Baiturrohman Mosque, stated that such practices of tolerance have long characterized Tanon Village. He stressed that this interfaith *gotong royong* could serve as a concrete example for other villages of how religious tolerance does not remain at the conceptual level but is genuinely applied in daily life (Jumadi, Personal Communication, July 15, 2024).

This mosque-cleaning activity also carries deep symbolic meaning. On the one hand, it demonstrates the respect of non-Muslims toward a sacred Islamic space; on the other hand, it reflects the openness of Muslims to accept interfaith participation in an activity regarded as spiritually significant. This synergy illustrates how the *habitus* of harmony in Tanon operates: religious differences are not treated as boundaries that divide but as opportunities to strengthen social cohesion. Thus, this work activity is not merely routine maintenance but a social ritual that reinforces Tanon’s identity as a tolerant village deeply rooted in its traditions.

The practice of harmony also appears in the form of symbolic respect. Interfaith greetings such as “*Shalom*,” “*Assalamu’alaikum*,” and “*Om Swastyastu*” are used interchangeably in everyday interactions, depending on the religious identity of the interlocutor. In addition, there is a shared habit of adjusting the volume of worship loudspeakers to avoid disturbing overlapping religious services. These seemingly small acts of consideration affirm the community’s collective awareness of the importance of preserving harmony in social life.

An Islamic religious leader in Tanon, Komarudin, remarked:

Indeed, there are many opinions among Islamic scholars. Some argue that offering greetings of other religions is prohibited because it is considered part of their creed. However, there are also views that allow it, as long as the intention is to honor fellow human beings, not to blur one’s faith. Here, I follow the latter view. So when I meet a Christian neighbor, I say ‘*Shalom*,’ and when I meet a Hindu neighbor, I greet them with ‘*Om Swastyastu*,’ just as they sincerely say ‘*Assalamu’alaikum*’ to us. For us, greetings are not merely words, but signs of respect and goodwill. This is our simple way of maintaining harmony in Tanon, honoring one another despite our different beliefs (Komarudin, Personal Communication, July 22, 2024).

Thus, the field findings reaffirm that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village remains deeply rooted in an established *habitus* formed from traditions of togetherness and the value of *gotong royong*. The long-standing custom of mutual assistance across Islamic, Christian, and Hindu celebrations demonstrates that tolerance is not imposed externally by formal authorities, but emerges organically from ingrained social dispositions within the community. This *habitus*, as explained in Pierre Bourdieu’s framework, is the product of a long history of social interactions that have become internalized into daily practices. Accordingly, harmony in Tanon is not a situational condition, but a social order reproduced continuously through everyday life.

From the observed practices of harmony, three key patterns emerge that highlight how this *habitus* of togetherness functions. First, the involvement of all religious groups in social activities is the most

prominent pattern. Whenever there are religious ceremonies or social gatherings, no group is excluded. All are involved in preparation, implementation, and post-event activities. This interfaith participation strengthens social cohesion and erodes identity boundaries that might otherwise create segregation.

Second, the longstanding habituation of interfaith interactions has normalized tolerance in Tanon as something “ordinary” and “natural.” Residents are accustomed to seeing neighbors pray according to their respective religions, to exchanging greetings across faiths, and to guarding each other’s houses of worship during major religious holidays. This routine has reshaped difference from a potential threat into a shared way of life that enriches social experience.

Third, the value of tolerance is transmitted across generations, with young people growing up witnessing interfaith practices in their families. They participate in *slametan*, religious festivals, and communal *gotong royong*, learning that respecting neighbors of different religions is a fundamental part of community life. This generational transmission ensures that harmony in Tanon does not remain confined to a single era but continues to be preserved and renewed through repeated social practices. Taken together, these patterns demonstrate that harmony in Tanon is not an artificial construct maintained only at formal or structural levels, but an organic form of harmony that grows from everyday interactions, practiced consistently, and passed down across generations.

Adaptation of the Habitus of Harmony in the Digital Sphere

In addition to face-to-face practices, interreligious harmony in Tanon Village is also realized in the digital sphere. Local residents actively use various technological platforms to strengthen communication, expand the reach of interaction, and maintain interfaith connectivity. One of the most prominent practices is the use of an interfaith WhatsApp group. The group consists of religious leaders, youth, village officials, and residents from diverse faith backgrounds. Through this platform, information related to religious, social, and communal activities is disseminated openly, allowing each group to acknowledge and respect the schedules and needs of others. The WhatsApp group also functions as a rapid coordination medium, for instance in arranging the use of public facilities, organizing *gotong royong* (communal work), or providing information about the security of houses of worship during major religious holidays. The presence of this interfaith WhatsApp group has made communication across religions more fluid, accessible, and conducted in real time.

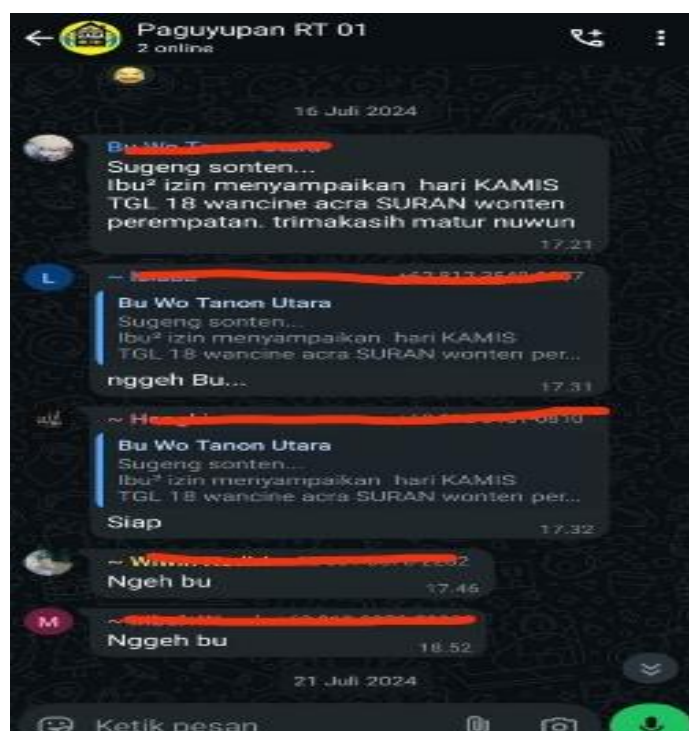


Figure 3. Screenshot of the Interfaith WhatsApp Group in Tanon Village

Source: Personal Documentation, 2024.

As illustrated in Figure 3, a screenshot of the interfaith WhatsApp group shows a conversation among residents regarding the preparation of *Suran*, a traditional commemoration of the Javanese and Islamic New Year, which is typically celebrated through various religious and cultural activities in Javanese society. In the discussion, one member of the group announced that the *Suran* event would be held on Thursday, July 18, 2024. This announcement was immediately responded to positively by other members without any disagreement or objection.

Such harmonious responses indicate that digital media effectively serves as a space for interfaith coordination that promotes transparency and openness of information. Residents from different faith backgrounds are able to deliberate on equal terms, give mutual consent, and support the organization of collective events without obstacles. This demonstrates how harmony that has long been practiced in face-to-face interactions now finds a new expression in the virtual sphere, while maintaining the spirit of solidarity and togetherness. Through this form of digital communication, values of tolerance are not only preserved but also extended to reach broader segments of society, ensuring their continuity across time.

As one youth leader in the village emphasized:

This WhatsApp group has actually existed for a long time, initially created only to coordinate small-scale activities in RT 01. But over time, it developed into an important forum for various activities in the village, from gotong royong, announcements of religious events, to matters of neighborhood security. What we feel most strongly is that all members in the group are united in building the village together without looking at each other's religion. For us, this group is not just a communication tool, but also concrete evidence that harmony can indeed be sustained through technology (Rudi, Personal Communication, July 23, 2024).

Beyond WhatsApp, the people of Tanon Village also collaborate in utilizing YouTube channels to showcase various socio-religious activities. These channels do not only feature major celebrations of Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism, but also interfaith activities such as *gotong royong*, community service, and Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations. Through videos uploaded to YouTube, practices of harmony in Tanon can be witnessed more broadly, both by villagers themselves and by outside audiences. These videos serve as digital archives and as promotional media that present the village's identity as a tolerant social space. The involvement of youth in content production and management further illustrates how the younger generation plays an active role in digitizing practices of harmony so they may be transmitted more widely in the digital era.

For instance, the YouTube channel *Hilmi Official Videography* has popularized interfaith tolerance in Tanon through its content. The channel documents various community activities, one of which is the *ogoh-ogoh* parade in Tanon, Kediri Regency, broadcast on the channel and highlighting the diversity of local residents. The parade is not only a Hindu cultural celebration but also a moment of interfaith solidarity, as it is supported and attended by residents from different religious backgrounds.



Figure 4. YouTube Screenshot of the Ogoh-ogoh Tradition in Tanon Village

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3NEHITCdR8Y>

Another example is the YouTube channel *Bala Pandawa*, which once streamed a *takbir keliling* event with the title “*Takbir Keliling Desa Tanon Papar Kediri*.” This tradition was organized with the involvement of residents across faiths, including Hindu residents who served as escorts during the event. The tradition also blended the religious atmosphere with local popular culture through the use of *sound horeg*, a characteristic East Javanese practice that has recently gone viral on social media. Both channels illustrate how digital media serves not only as documentation space but also as a popular means to reinforce Tanon Village’s identity as a community that is harmonious, tolerant, and adaptive to both technological and cultural developments.



Figure 5. YouTube Screenshot of the Idul Fitri Tradition in Tanon Village

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LurwW8hOcgU&t=10s>

In the digital sphere, tolerance and interfaith cooperation in Tanon Village are not merely discourse but are concretely manifested through deep collaborative practices. One striking example is the role of *Hilmi Official Videography*. Although Hilmi himself is a Muslim, he consciously and enthusiastically documents and popularizes Hindu traditions in Tanon through his YouTube channel. One of his significant works is the documentation of the *ogoh-ogoh* parade, a tradition closely associated with Hindu ritual life, which he broadcast and which has since been widely viewed by both local and external audiences, reaching 11,000 viewers. The willingness of a Muslim to actively promote another

community's tradition in the digital public sphere illustrates that tolerance in Tanon is not only about mutual respect but also about tangible interfaith cooperation.

This phenomenon demonstrates that religious identity does not become an obstacle for residents to contribute to the preservation of culture and social harmony. On the contrary, identity itself provides a foundation for collaborative spirit that enriches the experience of diversity. The digital collaboration between Hilmi and the Hindu community shows that harmony in Tanon has evolved to a higher level: it is no longer limited to participation in rituals or *gotong royong*, but extends to the reinforcement of tolerance narratives in broader social media spaces. In this way, interfaith cooperation in Tanon not only impacts the internal community of the village but also conveys a message of tolerance to regional, national, and even global audiences. This practice illustrates how the *habitus* of harmony, formed through long-standing social experiences, now finds new expression through digital technology with far greater reach and influence.

From the field findings, at least three important patterns can be identified that describe how interreligious harmony in Tanon Village is being transformed through the digital sphere. First, digitalization has become a new medium for interfaith dialogue. The interfaith WhatsApp group and YouTube channels have created inclusive communication spaces that allow residents of different faith backgrounds to interact as equals, share information, and engage in dialogue without physical barriers. Second, social media serves as a tool to expand networks of harmony. Video documentation on the *Hilmi Official Videography* and *Bala Pandawa* channels is not only consumed by village residents but also reaches wider audiences at regional and national levels. This means that practices of harmony in Tanon are no longer confined to the local sphere but are popularized as models of tolerance that can inspire other communities. Third, the use of virtual spaces helps reduce miscommunication and fosters mutual understanding across faiths. Through digital coordination, potential scheduling conflicts of religious events can be minimized, while transparency of information builds collective trust. Thus, the digital sphere functions not only as a complement to face-to-face interaction but also as a new arena that strengthens the fabric of social cohesion.

This adaptation illustrates that the *habitus* of harmony in Tanon Village has been able to adjust to the logic of a new arena—the digital sphere—which was previously not part of rural social practice. Within Pierre Bourdieu's framework, the *habitus* formed by a long history of interfaith togetherness is now being transformed and finds its relevance in cyberspace, characterized by algorithms, virality, and visual representation. This adaptive process shows that values of tolerance are not eroded by technological advancement; instead, they are reinforced through new media that are more open and interactive. Consequently, the digital sphere is not merely a technical means of communication but also a new cultural arena in which the *habitus* of harmony is reproduced, negotiated, and transmitted. This affirms that harmony in Tanon is dynamic: it moves beyond the limits of traditional face-to-face practices, responds to social change, and expands the meaning of interreligious coexistence into virtual spaces.

Integration of Social and Cultural Capital to Strengthen Harmony

Following Bourdieu (1986), *social capital* refers to the networks of relationships, trust, and reciprocity that enable individuals and groups to coordinate collective action effectively, while *cultural capital* encompasses the embodied values, knowledge, and symbolic resources that legitimize and sustain such actions within a community. In this study, *social capital* explains the web of cooperation among Tanon villagers, manifested in interfaith participation, shared responsibilities, and mutual protection, whereas *cultural capital* reflects the inherited moral and symbolic values of *gotong royong*, *tepa salira*, and local religious wisdom that provide ethical and emotional meaning to those cooperative practices. Together, these two forms of capital interact dynamically, transforming trust-based networks into culturally grounded social harmony. This conceptual distinction aligns with Coleman's (1988) emphasis on the role of social capital in facilitating cooperation and with Putnam's (2000) argument that civic engagement and shared values form the backbone of cohesive communities.

Field findings also indicate that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village does not stand alone, but is reinforced by the integration of social and cultural capital possessed by the community. Social capital is evident in networks of trust, cooperation, and participation in communal activities. Meanwhile, cultural capital appears in the form of religious values, local Javanese traditions such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) and *tepa salira* (empathy and tolerance), as well as local knowledge transmitted across generations. These two forms of capital complement each other, forming a strong foundation for the sustainability of harmony amid religious diversity.

The role of religious leaders is a key factor in maintaining and managing harmony based on social capital. They serve as mediators and moral exemplars who reinforce interfaith trust. Religious leaders are frequently present at interfaith communal events, whether as guests or facilitators of dialogue, and their presence provides moral legitimacy that togetherness is itself a religious value. Komarudin, an Islamic religious leader, emphasized:

We, as religious leaders in Tanon, strive to maintain good relations with everyone. I always remind the congregation that respecting neighbors of different faiths is part of Islamic teaching. If Christians or Hindus have an event, we attend. Likewise, they come to our events. In this way, we build mutual trust that living in harmony is a mandate of religion (Komarudin, Personal Communication, July 22, 2024).

In addition to religious leaders, youth also play a significant role in the integration of social capital. The youth of Tanon act as agents connecting older generations with new dynamics, including those in the digital sphere. They actively manage interfaith cultural events, document activities, and organize *gotong royong*. Rudi, one of the youth leaders, explained:

We, the youth in RT 01, for example, and in other hamlets, are often the driving force of village activities. When there is *gotong royong*, a parade, or a major event, young people of all religions come together. We never question what religion one follows, because our goal is to build the village. It is precisely through this togetherness that Tanon has become strong and known as a harmonious place (Rudi, Personal Communication, July 23, 2024).

Village officials also play both administrative and symbolic roles in safeguarding harmony. They ensure that every development program in the village involves all religious groups. For example, in managing village funds for socio-religious activities, officials apply the principle of inclusivity. This strengthens social capital by building public trust that village governance serves all residents, not only one group.

The social networks in Tanon are highly fluid, allowing each individual to experience dual forms of connectedness: internal connectedness within their own religious community (*bonding capital*), and external connectedness with other faith communities (*bridging capital*). Both operate simultaneously without negating one another. Muslims continue to practice Islamic rituals, Hindus observe *odalan* and *ogoh-ogoh* parades, while Christians and Catholics hold Mass and Christmas celebrations. At the same time, however, all groups participate in each other's events as guests, supporters, or security guards.

Cultural capital in the form of local traditions also provides essential support for harmony. The value of *gotong royong*, for instance, is applied not only in environmental clean-up activities but also in preparing religious ceremonies. *Tepa salira*, a Javanese concept of empathy and tolerance, is evident in the habit of residents adjusting to the needs of other faiths' worship—for example, by lowering the volume of loudspeakers when religious events coincide. This cultural capital bridges theological differences with social ethics that can be collectively accepted.

Local knowledge transmitted across generations further reinforces harmony. Children in Tanon grow up participating in interfaith events, witnessing their parents helping and respecting neighbors of different faiths. In this way, tolerance is not only a discourse but also a lived practice. This intergenerational transmission ensures that harmony in Tanon is not fragile but is preserved and renewed over time.

In this context, the integration of social and cultural capital generates mutually reinforcing mechanisms. Social capital in the form of networks of trust and collective solidarity would be fragile

without being supported by cultural capital in the form of religious values and local traditions. Conversely, cultural values would remain symbolic if not embodied in concrete social networks. The integration of both ensures that harmony in Tanon is not only normative but also deeply embedded in daily life.

The harmony that arises from the integration of social and cultural capital also positions Tanon Village as a reference point for other regions. Activities such as interfaith *gotong royong*, joint parades, or collaborative cleaning of houses of worship have made the village an “exhibition space” of harmony in Kediri Regency. Religious leaders, youth, and village officials play their respective roles, yet they are united by a collective awareness that harmony is a shared asset that must be preserved.

Thus, these findings demonstrate that the sustainability of interreligious harmony in Tanon Village is not accidental but the result of consistent management of integrated social and cultural capital. Social capital in the form of trust, networks, and solidarity is intertwined with cultural capital in the form of religious values, traditions, and local knowledge. This integration makes interreligious harmony in Tanon stronger, more adaptive, and sustainable, even amid ongoing social change.

Table 2. Matrix of Actors’ Roles in the Integration of Social and Cultural Capital in Tanon Village

Actor	Main Role	Social Capital (Trust, networks, solidarity)	Cultural Capital (Values, traditions, local knowledge)
Religious Leaders	Mediators, moral exemplars, providers of legitimacy for togetherness	Building interfaith trust by attending events of all religions	Teaching religious values of tolerance and respect for neighbors
Youth	Drivers of village activities, bridging tradition and the digital world	Networks across neighborhoods and hamlets; motors of socio-cultural activities	Preserving <i>gotong royong</i> traditions while digitizing practices of harmony
Village Officials	Administrative and regulatory facilitators of inclusivity; ensuring participation of all faiths	Guaranteeing transparency and equitable distribution of village resources	Affirming <i>Pancasila</i> and <i>tepa salira</i> as guiding principles of local policy
General Community	Active participants in rituals, <i>gotong royong</i> , and socio-religious activities	Collective solidarity through participation in shared activities	Transmitting values of harmony and tolerance across generations

Table 2 illustrates how the integration of social and cultural capital in Tanon Village is manifested through the roles of diverse actors. Religious leaders contribute by building interfaith trust while instilling religious values that emphasize tolerance. Youth act as the driving force of village activities and as bridges across generations by combining local traditions with digital media. Village officials reinforce the legitimacy of harmony through inclusive policies, while the general community serves as the collective base of participation that sustains the practice of harmony. The involvement of these four actors demonstrates that harmony in Tanon is not merely the result of individual practices but the outcome of a socio-cultural synergy that mutually reinforces one another.

Field findings thus confirm that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village is not solely the result of individual practices, but emerges from the integration of social and cultural capital possessed by the community. Trust, social networks, and solidarity formed in daily life intersect with religious values, local traditions, and knowledge transmitted across generations, producing a resilient form of harmony. As a result, harmony in Tanon is collective and systemic, supported by the collaboration of multiple actors who place togetherness at the core of communal life.

From these practices, three key patterns emerge that illustrate how the integration of social and cultural capital operates. First, religious leaders function as mediators who not only teach tolerance through religious discourse but also embody it in social practice by serving as role models in interfaith

activities. Second, youth act as agents of digitalizing harmony, linking inherited traditions of tolerance with new media such as digital documentation and social platforms, thereby expanding the reach of tolerant practices. Third, village officials serve as regulatory and administrative facilitators, ensuring that every village policy and development program is implemented with inclusivity so that no religious group feels marginalized. Together, these three patterns highlight that harmony in Tanon is the product of collective inter-actor collaboration, with roles that complement one another to sustain interreligious coexistence.

4. Discussion

The findings of this study reveal that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village operates through three interrelated dimensions that together sustain a coherent and adaptive system of coexistence. First, the reproduction of habitus is reflected in face-to-face social and religious practices such as *slametan*, *gotong royong*, and mutual participation in interfaith celebrations. These practices demonstrate that harmony in Tanon is not a formal construct but an organically reproduced disposition deeply embedded in daily life. The values of respect, empathy, and cooperation have been transmitted across generations, forming a moral habitus that normalizes tolerance as an ordinary part of community interaction. Second, the adaptation of habitus within the digital field shows that Tanon's tradition of harmony has evolved in response to technological change. Digital platforms especially interfaith WhatsApp groups and local YouTube channels, have become new arenas for social coordination, dialogue, and representation, enabling the extension of interreligious interaction beyond physical space while maintaining the community's spirit of inclusivity. Third, the integration of social and cultural capital strengthens the sustainability of harmony by linking networks of trust and participation (social capital) with shared values, traditions, and symbolic knowledge (cultural capital). Religious leaders, youth, village officials, and residents play complementary roles as mediators, digital connectors, facilitators, and active participants in sustaining this moral and social order. The interplay among these actors ensures that harmony in Tanon remains systemic rather than individual, deeply rooted in communal ethics while flexible in adapting to new social realities. Taken together, these three dimensions illustrate that harmony in Tanon is organic able to transform within the digital environment, and transgenerational.

The persistence of interreligious harmony in Tanon Village can be explained through Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*—a system of durable dispositions internalized through long-term socialization (Bourdieu, 1986). The *habitus of harmony* in Tanon has been historically formed through repetitive practices of *gotong royong*, *slametan*, and interfaith participation, creating a shared sense of belonging that operates almost unconsciously in daily interactions. This explains why harmony remains resilient even amid social transformation: it has become an embodied moral reflex rather than a consciously imposed norm. In Bourdieu's terms, the *habitus* produces and reproduces the very practices that sustain it. Each act of participation whether attending a neighbor's religious ceremony or assisting in maintaining places of worship, reaffirms the moral structure that binds the community. Thus, the endurance of harmony in Tanon does not depend on external regulation but on the self-regenerating power of social disposition rooted in lived experience and collective memory.

At the same time, the emergence of the digital field introduces new structures and logics of interaction such as algorithmic visibility, mediated communication, and symbolic competition, that require the *habitus* to adapt without losing its essence. In this context, the *field* acts as a dynamic space where old dispositions encounter new technologies, producing a hybrid mode of social practice. The interfaith WhatsApp group, YouTube collaborations, and digital documentation of community events show that traditional dispositions of cooperation and respect have migrated into virtual arenas, expanding their reach and influence. Rather than replacing face-to-face interactions, the digital field reconfigures the conditions of participation by enabling new forms of symbolic capital that reinforce existing social bonds. Here, *social capital* and *cultural capital* operate simultaneously: trust and networks formed offline provide the foundation for collaboration online, while cultural values such as *tepa selira* and *gotong royong* give ethical legitimacy to digital practices. This reciprocal relationship illustrates

Bourdieu's notion of structural homology, where transformations in one field mirror and strengthen dispositions from another. Consequently, Tanon's harmony persists not because it resists change, but because its *habitus* is reflexively adaptive.

The findings of this study resonate with, existing scholarship on interreligious harmony. Earlier works have largely emphasized direct, face-to-face interactions and ritual cooperation as the foundation of social cohesion within plural societies (Collins, 2020; Jucker et al., 2018; Lahode et al., 2020; Rahmawanto & Rahyono, 2019). Similar patterns of shared participation and interpersonal solidarity were also observed in studies of post-conflict reconciliation and urban neighborhood cooperation (Juhari & Zulfadli, 2019; Mujiyono et al., 2024; Treija et al., 2023). The present study affirms these observations but moves beyond them by uncovering the underlying mechanism that allows such harmony to persist. In Tanon Village, harmony is not merely a set of cooperative behaviors but an enduring *habitus*, a structured disposition formed through repetitive interfaith encounters that have become internalized within the community's moral consciousness. This perspective reframes harmony from a surface-level interactional phenomenon into a deeper sociological process of value reproduction embedded in everyday life.

At the same time, this study broadens the analytical horizon by situating harmony within the digital transformation of rural society. While previous research often discussed moral and educational approaches to tolerance through formal or institutional channels (Alim et al., 2020; Leu Bonanno, 2023; Shapiro, 2021), the findings from Tanon reveal how similar values of empathy, moderation, and justice are enacted informally through digital practices. WhatsApp groups, YouTube collaborations, and social media networks have become new *fields* where the community's moral dispositions are rearticulated, demonstrating that technological mediation can strengthen rather than erode interreligious solidarity. Furthermore, this study provides a more grounded understanding of how local actors mobilize *social* and *cultural capital* to sustain plural coexistence both offline and online. Unlike studies that analyze harmony through top-down frameworks of policy or civic regulation (Al-Karbi et al., 2025; Arjawa & Zulkifli, 2021; Dale & Newman, 2010), this research reveals harmony as a lived, bottom-up process that unfolds through networks of trust, symbolic reciprocity, and digital visibility.

The case of Tanon Village introduces a new dimension to the study of interreligious harmony by integrating the micro-sociological insights of Bourdieu's theory with the realities of the digital era. The *habitus of harmony* observed here is reflexively adaptive—capable of translating traditional values into new media environments without losing their moral foundation. This integrative perspective offers a conceptual advance that bridges classical sociological theory with contemporary discussions on *digital religion* (Campbell, 2023; Helland, 2016), presenting Tanon as an empirical model of digitally mediated grassroots pluralism, where technology becomes not a threat to diversity but a medium for its renewal and expansion.

The interpretation of these findings can be developed along three dimensions: historically, socially, and ideologically. Historically, Tanon's harmony reflects a long trajectory of tolerance embedded in Javanese cultural traditions such as *slametan* and *gotong royong*. These practices are part of a broader repertoire of Javanese communal rituals that have long served as mechanisms for nurturing interreligious harmony and social cohesion. The *slametan*, for example, functions as a communal prayer and feast to mark important life events such as births, marriages, and deaths. Despite the growing influence of Islam, elements of local belief continue to persist in this ritual, thereby bridging Islamic teachings with Javanese traditions and uniting diverse religious practices under a shared cultural framework (Nasir, 2019; van den Boogert, 2017). Similarly, other rituals such as *Labuhan Alit Parangkusumo* emphasize values like *rukun* (harmony), *sabar* (patience), *tawakal* (submission to God), and *legawa* (acceptance), which are crucial for teaching communities to respect differences and resolve conflicts peacefully (Widyatwati, Dienaputra, Suganda, & Mamun, 2021). In Ngandong Hamlet, cultural activities themselves serve as unifying forces, while the principle of *guyub rukun* upheld by elders in villages like Nglinggi demonstrates how generational leadership integrates cultural practices with religious teachings to sustain inclusivity (Melo & De Lima, 2023).

Other Javanese traditions also reinforce these values of tolerance and solidarity. The *hajatan* tradition, involving communal prayers, shared meals, and *gotong royong*, becomes a medium for expressing gratitude and strengthening social bonds, thereby ensuring cohesion amid social change. Similarly, the *buka luwur* tradition represents the integration of Islamic teachings with Javanese customs, highlighting how cultural-religious syncretism creates practices that embody cooperation and solidarity across faith lines (Mundakir & Hidayat, 2020). Collectively, these rituals promote values of harmony, patience, acceptance, and social solidarity—values that are deeply embedded in the communal life of Tanon Village and that explain why tolerance has become an “ordinary” and “taken-for-granted” aspect of daily practice. In this sense, Tanon does not merely reproduce harmony through abstract principles but through lived traditions that have long blended cultural wisdom with religious life, producing a unique and enduring model of interreligious coexistence.

Socially, the practices show how community members transform diversity from a potential source of division into a shared resource for cohesion, using both offline and online mechanisms. This finding resonates with broader discussions on *social cohesion in religiously diverse communities*, where belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy become critical dimensions of coexistence (Khoo, 2007). While many studies have shown that diversity can sometimes reduce trust and even foster polarization (Trauttmüller, 2013), the case of Tanon illustrates the opposite dynamic: diversity becomes a foundation for cooperation through cultural traditions and digital platforms that promote transparency, dialogue, and solidarity.

The Tanon experience also affirms findings that economic and social structures significantly shape the outcomes of diversity. As Chan and Kawalerowicz (2024) demonstrated in Britain, material deprivation rather than diversity itself is what undermines social cohesion. In Tanon, the strong tradition of *gotong royong* and collective participation offsets such risks, ensuring that diversity strengthens rather than weakens community trust. Furthermore, interfaith activities in Tanon mirror initiatives elsewhere that emphasize multicultural education and interfaith dialogue as tools for strengthening cohesion (Macdonald, 2023). These practices show that local cultural wisdom—similar to the Balinese concepts of *Tat Twam Asi* and *Menyama-Braya* that promote solidarity—can provide effective social capital for integrating diverse religious communities.

Taken together, the Tanon case highlights that religious diversity does not inevitably generate conflict but can instead be a catalyst for cooperation when supported by inclusive cultural practices and transparent mechanisms of interaction. Much like the successful models of social cohesion found in multicultural Australia (Bouma, 2016; O'Donnell, 2023), Tanon demonstrates that harmony is sustained when diversity is managed through positive intergroup contact, equitable participation, and the continual renewal of shared values across generations.

Ideologically, the case of Tanon illustrates the operationalization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) as a lived reality rather than an abstract principle. The community does not rely on state regulations alone but enacts harmony through everyday micro-practices, thereby demonstrating an alternative grassroots model of pluralism. This finding resonates with broader patterns in Indonesia where local wisdom and religion play positive roles in sustaining pluralism. In places like North Lombok, traditions such as *Ngejot*—the sharing of food during religious ceremonies—strengthen interfaith bonds among Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist communities, showing that local practices can function as effective social capital for cohesion. Similarly, grassroots friendship-based interfaith mediation has been proposed as an alternative to top-down religious moderation, emphasizing the value of everyday interactions and mutual respect in fostering tolerance.

The Tanon experience illustrates how rural communities can navigate challenges often associated with pluralism in Indonesia, such as rising intolerance and decentralized political pressures (Fossati, 2023; Hamayotsu, 2014). By rooting harmony in cultural traditions like *slametan* and *gotong royong*, Tanon parallels cases in East Java where cultural energy sustains peaceful interreligious relations (Umam & Barmawi, 2023). These micro-practices not only bridge doctrinal differences but also embody a localized cosmopolitanism similar to that observed historically in cities like Makassar (Antweiler, 2019). Thus, grassroots pluralism in Tanon offers an instructive model of how communities creatively

integrate religious values, local wisdom, and everyday cooperation to make pluralism an organic, lived reality.

Moreover, reflection on these findings reveals both functional and dysfunctional dimensions. The functional aspect is that digital platforms and interfaith cooperation reinforce inclusivity and transparency, enabling the community to minimize conflict and sustain cohesion. The dysfunction, however, lies in potential risks: reliance on digital platforms opens up possibilities for disinformation, unequal access to technology, and the dominance of certain voices over others in online spaces. Furthermore, harmony based on *habitus* may be vulnerable if not continuously nurtured, as generational shifts or external political pressures could erode established practices. This reflects broader patterns in the study of *digital religion*, which highlights how the blending of faith with digital media creates both new opportunities and new vulnerabilities (Campbell, 2023; Helland, 2016). Online platforms may expand exposure to diverse perspectives, but they also reinforce in-group boundaries and amplify polarization through echo chamber effects, limiting the potential for genuine interfaith understanding (Haq & Kwok, 2024). Such risks illustrate how the very tools that sustain interfaith contact can also destabilize it when not carefully mediated.

However, following Campbell's (2023) framework of *digital religion*, online spaces should not be seen merely as instruments that mediate faith-based interaction but as autonomous social fields where symbolic struggles, authority, and communal identities are continually negotiated. Within this perspective, the digital sphere represents what Bourdieu terms a *new field*—a site where habitus, capital, and symbolic power intersect through algorithmic visibility and user participation. In Tanon Village, digital platforms such as WhatsApp and YouTube not only facilitate interfaith dialogue but also constitute arenas where narratives of tolerance are publicly performed, contested, and legitimized. Thus, the digital field embodies both opportunity and struggle: it expands the visibility of harmony while simultaneously demanding new literacy to manage symbolic competition and maintain interfaith trust.

At the same time, evidence shows that digital interfaith interactions can reduce prejudice and foster cohesion when supported by inclusive attitudes. For example, studies in Pakistan demonstrate that Muslims who engage positively with interfaith contact on Facebook tend to report lower social distance toward non-Muslim minorities, although the outcomes are mediated by perceptions of status legitimacy (Masood, 2024). Conversely, phenomena of “digital othering” highlight how online interactions may reassert religious boundaries, while the emergence of new digital-based religious authorities can challenge traditional structures and spark tensions (Cloete, 2016). In this sense, digital religion represents a “third space” of interfaith practice—neither wholly institutional nor entirely individual—where grassroots tolerance can be strengthened but also undermined. The case of Tanon therefore underscores the need for a nuanced approach: digital platforms should be harnessed to expand solidarity, yet the vulnerabilities of disinformation, polarization, and unequal access must be addressed to prevent fragility in interfaith harmony.

Based on these reflections, several policy and practical actions are necessary. First, initiatives to strengthen digital literacy across all generations are crucial to prevent misuse of technology, reduce the risks of disinformation, and ensure that no single voice dominates the online space. Second, concrete measures should be introduced to bridge the digital divide, such as providing communal internet facilities, targeted training for vulnerable groups, and inclusive access to technological resources. Third, village-level policies should institutionalize interfaith collaboration in both offline and online spaces, creating transparent mechanisms that guarantee equal participation in governance and cultural events while safeguarding these spaces from politicization or hate speech. Fourth, intergenerational programs that combine cultural traditions with digital practices should be developed, so that tolerance values are preserved while also being made relevant to younger generations. Finally, collaboration between local communities, religious leaders, and policymakers must be expanded to replicate Tanon's model in other rural areas, positioning it as a reference for adaptive and resilient interreligious harmony in the disruptive era.

5. Conclusion

This study concludes that interreligious harmony in Tanon Village represents a living system of social practice that is both deeply rooted in tradition and dynamically adaptive to modern change. The findings demonstrate that harmony in Tanon is sustained through the reproduction of a long-established *habitus* of togetherness, the adaptation of that *habitus* within the digital field, and the integration of *social* and *cultural capital* into a cohesive moral and social order. The *habitus of harmony*, forged through generations of *slametan*, *gotong royong*, and interfaith collaboration, has evolved into a flexible disposition capable of responding to the demands of technological transformation without losing its ethical foundation. Digital platforms such as WhatsApp and YouTube have become extensions of communal life, providing new arenas for interaction, coordination, and symbolic representation. Through these mechanisms, Tanon's community demonstrates that harmony is not a static ideal but a continually negotiated practice that allows diversity to become a shared resource rather than a potential source of division.

The main contribution of this study lies in its application of Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to explain how practices of harmony are reproduced and transformed across both offline and online fields. By focusing on a rural community, the study provides empirical evidence that enriches existing research, which has often concentrated on urban contexts or institutional frameworks. The originality of this research lies in highlighting the role of digital platforms as new fields where *habitus* adapts, demonstrating that rural communities are not passive in the face of technological disruption but actively appropriate digital tools to sustain interfaith harmony. This provides a conceptual and practical model of integrative harmony that is both adaptive and resilient.

Nevertheless, this study acknowledges several limitations. The focus on a single village means that the findings may not be fully generalizable to other contexts with different socio-religious compositions or political dynamics. In addition, while the study explored the role of digital platforms, it did not extensively examine challenges such as digital inequality, disinformation, or the potential exclusion of less technologically literate groups. Future research could expand the scope by comparing multiple rural communities, employing longitudinal approaches to trace changes over time, and analyzing the risks as well as the opportunities of digitalization for interreligious harmony.

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