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Navigating the Gap Between *Ihsān* and Urban Reality: A Sociological and Islamic Ethical Analysis of Neighborly Conflicts in Surabaya

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Abstract

Surabaya's popularity as a major financial hub draws sizable rural-to-urban migration, fostering dense residential areas where diverse socio-cultural backgrounds intersect. although 85.81% of Surabaya's 2,971,646 residents discover as Muslima faith emphasizing neighborly concord—inter-neighbor conflicts and violence stay normal. This have a look at investigates the construction and exercise of neighborly warfare, alongside the resolution cultures adopted by means of city Muslim groups in Surabaya. using a qualitative technique, the research analyzes times of physical, verbal, and psychological friction, consisting of boundary disputes in Nginden and belongings use conflicts in Kedurus. The findings display that regardless of high non secular adherence, social friction often stems from uncommunicated trivial problems exacerbated by way of urban space constraints. furthermore, whilst formal neighborhood authorities interventions and casual mediation with the aid of community elders are applied, resolution regularly leaves an underlying anxiety summarized with the aid of the Javanese proverb "*ancik-ancik pucuking ri*" (dwelling on the tip of a thorn). This highlights an opening between normative Islamic ethics and every day socio-cultural struggle practices.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution, Islamic Ethics, Neighborly Violence, Urban Migration.

INTRODUCTION

Surabaya, as the capital of East Java, Indonesia, possesses an immense economic pull that attracts rural migrants seeking better livelihoods. This ongoing urbanization process reshapes the city's demographic and spatial landscape. Migrants reside in varied living conditions—ranging from privately owned houses and rented rooms to informal settlements along railway tracks and public roadsides (Huang et al., 2023; Storato et al., 2021). Naturally, these living arrangements force individuals into close physical proximity, creating dense neighborhood environments where daily social interactions are unavoidable (Nguyen et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2022). Irregular status and poverty limit access to adequate housing, pushing many migrants into informal or substandard living arrangements (Myhrvold and Småstuen, 2019).

Demographically, Muslims constitute 85.81% of Surabaya's 2.971.646 population (BPS Kota Surabaya, 2022). In Islamic teachings, neighborly conduct is governed by strict ethical imperatives (Zartman, 2018). Surah Al-Nisā' (4:36) explicitly commands believers to practice goodness (*ihsān*) toward near and distant neighbors. Furthermore, a well-known prophetic tradition (*hadith*) recorded by Imam Bukhari emphasizes that an individual's faith (*iman*) is fundamentally compromised if their neighbors do not feel safe from their harmful actions. Religiosity is theoretically evaluated through dimensions of belief, practice, experience, knowledge, and consequences (Saroglou et al., 2020). Therefore, a high concentration of Muslim residents should, in theory, correlate with harmonious communal living (Dasopang et al., 2022; Gede Agung et al., 2024).

However, empirical observations and documented cases in Surabaya reveal a stark contrast between normative religious tenets and daily social reality. Inter-neighbor conflicts resulting in physical, verbal, and psychological violence frequently occur (Healy, 2020). For instance, in Nginden, Surabaya, a dispute led an individual to construct a physical wall blocking their neighbor's access route, requiring local government (*Kelurahan* and *Kecamatan*) intervention. Similarly, in Kedurus, Surabaya, an argument over parking vehicles on vacant land escalated into verbal abuse and death threats, leaving a fragile peace characterized by the Javanese proverb *ancik-ancik pucuking ri* (living on the tip of a thorn) (Sabri, 2020).

Neighbor conflicts frequently escalate into physical, verbal, and psychological violence due to environmental stressors, socioeconomic strain, and learned aggressive behaviors, resulting in significant physical, psychological, and social consequences for individuals and communities (Park and Lee, 2019). Interpersonal and communal conflicts often arise from disputes over resources, socioeconomic stress, and cultural differences, and are exacerbated by substance abuse and collective memories of past violence (Ngobale et al., 2013). Consequences include psychological trauma, physical harm, and broader social disruption, with violence sometimes escalating or spreading within communities (Anstey, 2017).

The trajectory of these inter-neighbor conflicts demonstrates that catastrophic communal breakdowns rarely happen overnight; instead, they usually originate from minor, seemingly insignificant everyday annoyances that are left uncommunicated (Clover, 2015). In densely populated urban settings, the absence of early direct dialogue allows small grievances regarding parking, noise, waste disposal, or property boundaries to fester over time. When these unaddressed grievances finally erupt, they manifest in multiple dimensions of violence, including verbal abuse, physical attacks, psychological intimidation, socio-economic exclusion, and domestic disturbance (Ahmed, 2024). Understanding how these minor issues accumulate is critical to deciphering the broader mechanisms of urban social decay.

The emergence and escalation of neighborly violence can be better understood by examining how conflict and its resolution are culturally constructed and practiced within specific socio-environmental settings. Behavior within a neighborhood is not dictated solely by abstract religious doctrines, but is heavily shaped by local socio-cultural conditions, economic anxieties, and spatial limitations (Alnaim and Noaime, 2024; De Rosa and Mannarini, 2021). The choices individuals make when reacting to a grievance—whether to retaliate aggressively, seek administrative punishment for the offender, or pursue peaceful negotiation—reflect deeply ingrained cultural attitudes toward authority, justice, and community identity.

When disputes reach a crisis point, urban residents are faced with a spectrum of conflict management strategies, ranging from punitive measures to relational repair. In many modern societies, the default instinct is to seek retribution or demand formal punishment through law enforcement or administrative state mechanisms to penalize the wrongdoer (Tonry, 2020). Conversely, traditional and indigenous conflict resolution paradigms emphasize restorative justice, focusing on repairing damaged social bonds and restoring long-term communal equilibrium (Finsterwalder and Tombs, 2021). In an urbanizing context like

Surabaya, conflicting parties frequently navigate and choose between these different forums based on their immediate interests, emotional states, and social capital.

Given these complex dynamics, this study aims to critically investigate the cultural construction of neighborly conflict and dispute resolution practices among urban Muslim communities in Surabaya (Rasyid et al., 2023). By examining real-world friction such as the incidents in Nginden and Kedurus, this research analyzes the disconnect between normative Islamic ethics (*ihsān* and neighborly safety) and the actual social behavior of urban residents. Ultimately, this article seeks to provide a nuanced sociological and cultural understanding of how urban space, religious identity, and local mediation mechanisms intersect in managing daily social conflict within Indonesia's rapidly evolving metropolitan landscape.

This research addresses the cultural construction of neighborly conflict and the dispute resolution mechanisms chosen by urban Muslim communities in Surabaya. By examining how minor grievances transform into systematic violence and evaluating how formal and informal forums mediate these disputes, this study sheds light on the interplay between religious values, socio-cultural conditions, and urban conflict management.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative research design within a socio-legal (Noor, 2023) and urban sociological framework (Martínez, 2024). Fieldwork was conducted in selected urban neighborhoods in Surabaya, focusing on sites with documented neighborly disputes, such as Nginden and Kedurus. Primary data were gathered through semi-structured dialogues with conflicting parties, local community elders (*sesepuh*), neighborhood heads (*RT/RW*), and village administrative officials (*Lurah*). Secondary data were collected through local documentation, news reports, and legal/religious texts regarding neighborly ethics. Data analysis followed an interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The analytical framework relies on conflict construction theories and forum shopping models (Benda-Beckmann & Turner, 2018; Von Benda-Beckmann, 1981) in legal anthropology to understand how community members choose between punitive measures and relational repair.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The Reality of Urban Proximity and Neighborly Violence

Urban migration fundamentally alters the spatial geography of housing in Surabaya, creating a mosaic of informal settlements, tightly packed rented rooms (*kos-kosan*), and high-density kampongs. In many of these areas, residential structures share physical load-bearing walls, narrow alleyways (*gang*) measuring less than 1.5 meters in width, and overlapping drainages. The physical proximity in these neighborhoods means that private domestic spaces are functionally porous. Sound, odor, and physical activities constantly spill over into public and neighboring domains, transforming private life into a shared communal experience and dramatically heightening the potential for interpersonal friction (*Observation in Kedurus Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024).

Demographically, Muslims represent 85.81% of Surabaya's total population, creating a culturally homogeneous landscape on the surface. However, this statistical religious uniformity masks profound socio-cultural diversity regarding regional origins, socio-economic status, educational background, and behavioral norms. Rural migrants from various regencies across East Java—such as Madura, Lamongan, Nganjuk, and Mataraman areas—bring distinct cultural communication styles, spatial perceptions, and social expectations to Surabaya (*Observation in Kedurus Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024). When these diverse cultural codes clash within the physical constraints of tight urban kampongs, religious homogeneity often proves insufficient to prevent social misunderstandings (SKR, personal communication, November 10, 2024).

In this environment of physical saturation, spatial resource allocation becomes a primary trigger for neighborly disputes. Urban space in Surabaya is a scarce commodity, and competition over its use is fierce. Key physical triggers include the unauthorized use of shared alleyways for private vehicle parking, temporary construction material storage, livestock or pet containment, and the installation of permanent physical obstructions (MJR, personal communication, October 31, 2024). As household purchasing power grows without a corresponding increase in residential land, the acquisition of motor vehicles—particularly cars—without dedicated garages creates immediate territorial friction between adjacent property owners (IMM, personal communication, September 11, 2024).

The empirical case in Nginden, Surabaya, serves as a critical illustration of how spatial competition escalates into structural violence (*Observation in Nginden Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024). In this neighborhood, a prolonged dispute over shared access rights culminated in

an individual constructing a solid brick boundary wall that completely sealed off the exit and entry route of an adjacent household. (RYN, personal communication, October 13, 2024) Data gathered from local administrative records show that the wall effectively trapped the neighboring family, preventing basic mobility and emergency access (KMA, personal communication, August 22, 2024). This extreme act of territorial marking demonstrates how minor disagreements over boundary lines can escalate into structural acts that violate fundamental human rights to movement and access (ST, personal communication, August 23, 2024).

Similarly, the dispute documented in Kedurus, Surabaya, highlights the volatile interaction between shared property usage and verbal aggression. In this case, an individual routinely utilized a neighbor's vacant residential plot to park multiple private vehicles over extended periods without seeking consent (MJR, personal communication, October 31, 2024). Field observations revealed that what began as a silent encroachment quickly devolved into public mockery, intense verbal abuse, and explicit physical threats when the landowner attempted to reclaim the space. Conflict mapping in this sub-district indicates that reported neighborhood altercations originate from vehicle parking and property boundary infringements (IMM, personal communication, September 11, 2024).

The progression of these conflicts follows a clear behavioral pattern, shifting from unaddressed everyday grievances to open aggression. In the majority of documented cases in Surabaya, initial annoyances—such as loud music, improper waste disposal, water runoff, or temporary parking—are rarely addressed through early, constructive dialogue. Residents often suppress their dissatisfaction due to fear of confrontation or adherence to cultural norms of surface harmony (*ewuh ewuh/rikuh*) (*Observation in Kedurus Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024; *Observation in Nginden Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024). However, this passive suppression allows minor grievances to accumulate, creating psychological stress that eventually erupts over a seemingly trivial final trigger.

A critical finding of this study is the profound gap between normative religious ethics and practical social conduct in high-density urban environments (Abu-Nimer, 2001). Despite 85.81% of the population identifying as Muslim and possessing theoretical knowledge of scriptural commands—such as Surah Al-Nisā': 36 and prophetic Hadiths explicitly banning behavior that threatens a neighbor's peace—religious principles are frequently

compartmentalized (Abou El Fadl, 2010). During active territorial or personal disputes, emotional reactivity, personal pride (*gengsi*), and spatial frustration routinely override religious mandates of neighborly kindness (*ihsān*) (Auda, 2008).

Furthermore, urban migration weakens traditional rural social control mechanisms. In origin villages, communal ties (*paguyuban*) and strong family networks act as natural buffers to mediate personal disputes before they escalate (Beatty, 2004). In the urban setting of Surabaya, however, individualization and economic stress weaken these informal safety nets. Neighbors live in close physical proximity but maintain high social distance, reducing the effectiveness of informal communal pressure in deterring aggressive behavior (Geertz, 1989; Koentjaraningrat, 2009).

The reality of urban proximity in Surabaya reveals that physical closeness without adequate social communication and spatial infrastructure inevitably generates neighborly violence. The combination of rapid urbanization, high population density, spatial scarcity, and socio-cultural diversity creates an environment where minor daily annoyances easily transform into structural and psychological hostility. Addressing this urban reality requires moving beyond superficial dispute settlement toward comprehensive urban spatial management and the active internalization of restorative religious ethics.

Conflict Resolution Culture: Formal Interventions vs. Relational Repair

When neighborly disputes erupt within the urban kampongs of Surabaya, conflicting parties navigate a complex landscape of dispute resolution options (MJR, personal communication, October 31, 2024). The choice of forum is rarely random; rather, it reflects a calculated decision based on accessibility, social power, emotional intensity, and the desired outcome (RYN, personal communication, October 13, 2024). In an urban environment characterized by high population density and rapid socio-economic shifts, two primary conflict resolution paradigms emerge: formal/administrative interventions led by state and local officials, and informal/relational repair attempts mediated by community leaders (sesepuh) and neighborhood heads (RT/RW) (IMM, personal communication, September 11, 2024).

Formal interventions represent the structural approach to conflict management in Surabaya. When disputes involve severe spatial encroachments or the threat of physical violence, residents frequently escalate the matter to the Kelurahan (village office), Kecamatan

(sub-district office), or local law enforcement (Bhabinkamtibmas and Babinsa). Data compiled from sub-district administrative logs across Surabaya indicate that formal state intervention is most commonly sought in cases involving property boundary infringements, structural road blockages, and physical or severe verbal threats.

The intervention by local government authorities in the Nginden case exemplifies the operational logic of formal dispute resolution (RYN, personal communication, October 13, 2024). In this instance, when an individual constructed a brick wall blocking a neighbor's entry, informal neighborhood appeals failed to yield a solution. The direct involvement of the Lurah (head of village) and sub-district officials was required to enforce administrative regulations regarding public access and spatial zoning. Formal interventions prioritize legal-administrative compliance, spatial rights restoration, and the immediate cessation of illegal physical actions. However, formal interventions operate through a top-down, rule-based framework that focuses primarily on objective compliance rather than emotional reconciliation.

While municipal officials possess the authority to order the demolition of an illegal wall or issue binding administrative warnings, their mandates rarely extend to healing interpersonal animosity. Once the formal decision is enforced, state actors withdraw, leaving the disputing parties to reside side-by-side in a state of enforced physical compliance accompanied by heightened psychological distance. Conversely, the tradition of relational repair relies on informal, community-based mediation grounded in Javanese socio-cultural values and Islamic ethics of brotherhood (*ukhuwah*). Neighborhood heads (*Ketua RT/RW*) and respected community elders (*sesepuh*) serve as the primary mediators in this informal forum. Relational repair emphasizes maintaining social equilibrium (*rukun*), preserving neighborhood reputation, and preventing public embarrassment (*wirang*), aligning with traditional communal values of urban kampong life. The mediation process in the Kedurus parking conflict highlights the mechanics and limitations of informal relational repair. When the unauthorized parking on a vacant plot escalated into verbal abuse and threats, community elders stepped in to conduct a series of informal discussions (*musyawarah*). The elders utilized social pressure, references to Islamic teachings on neighborly rights, and appeals to shared community identity to persuade both parties to sign a mutual peace agreement (*Surat Pernyataan Damai*).

Informal relational repair mechanisms offer significant advantages, including high accessibility, low financial cost, speed, and cultural familiarity. Disputing neighbors do not need to navigate complex legal procedures or face formal state penalties. Furthermore, informal mediation allows for flexible, nuanced compromises that formal legal frameworks cannot easily accommodate, such as flexible parking schedules or shared maintenance responsibilities for communal spaces. Despite these advantages, the efficacy of relational repair in contemporary urban Surabaya is increasingly undermined by rapid social atomization.

The underlying weakness of both formal and informal resolution models lies in their inability to address the lingering psychological trauma and resentment generated during the conflict. In many cases, disputing parties accept mediation outcomes not out of a genuine desire for reconciliation, but due to overwhelming social pressure or fear of legal sanctions. This dynamic creates the sociological condition previously noted as *ancik-ancik pucuking ri*—a fragile, artificial peace where neighbors interact with superficial politeness while maintaining intense latent hostility.

To illustrate the institutional dynamics and outcome metrics of different dispute resolution forums in Surabaya, primary field data were synthesized into a comparative framework. The table below outlines the operational characteristics, success rates, and post-resolution social dynamics associated with each conflict management pathway.

Resolution Forum / Mechanism	**Key Mediating Actors**	**Primary Objective**	**Enforcement Mechanism**	**Dominant Post-Resolution Social State**
Formal Administrative	*Lurah*, *Kecamatan*, Satpol PP	Spatial Law Enforcement and Order	Municipal Sanctions and Physical Action	Cold Compliance and Persistent Grudge
State Security / Legal	*Bhabinkamtibmas*, Police	Crime Prevention and Threat Neutralization	Criminal Charges and Legal Restraint	Total Avoidance and Social Severance
Informal Communal	*Ketua RT/RW*, *Sesepuh*	Social Harmony (*Rukun*) and Compromise	Social Pressure and Moral Persuasion	Fragile Peace (*Ancik-ancik pucuking ri*)
Religious / Faith-Based	Local Imams, *Kiai*, Majlis Taklim	Moral Reform and Spiritual Obligation	Religious Sanctions and Guilt Appeals	Selective Forgiveness and Surface Interaction

The empirical data indicates a clear trade-off between enforcement power and relational healing. This divergence in forum outcomes reflects a growing phenomenon of "forum shopping" among urban residents (Von Benda-Beckmann, 1981). Conflicting neighbors strategically choose between formal and informal arenas depending on their perceived power dynamics (De Jong et al., 2021). Power-dominant parties—such as property owners or long-term residents—often prefer informal forums where their social capital can influence outcomes. Conversely, less influential residents or newcomers frequently bypass local elders and appeal directly to formal state authorities to level the playing field (Dag, 2023). Furthermore, the effectiveness of religious mediation is constrained by the functional separation between normative religious identity and daily social behavior.

Although imams and religious leaders frequently cite Surah Al-Nisā': 36 and Hadith literature during community gatherings (*pengajian*), their direct involvement in active neighborhood disputes remains limited (*Observation in Kedurus Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024; *Observation in Nginden Surabaya August-December 2024*, 2024). Religious teachings are predominantly applied as abstract moral advice rather than structured conflict resolution protocols (Kirazli, 2024), limiting their capacity to resolve deeply entrenched structural or spatial disputes (Payne, 2020).

The limitations of both formal interventions and relational repair highlight the urgent need for an integrated, restorative conflict resolution framework in urban Indonesia. Resolving neighborly violence in Surabaya requires bridging the gap between state administrative authority and community-based relational healing (Beckham et al., 2023; Diver et al., 2024). Formal decisions regarding spatial rights must be paired with sustained, restorative dialogue processes that address emotional grievances and rebuild community trust (Knapp et al., 2022).

The conflict resolution culture among urban Muslim communities in Surabaya is defined by a tension between formal administrative enforcement and informal relational repair. While formal interventions effectively resolve physical and spatial impasses, they leave social relationships fractured. Meanwhile, traditional relational repair mechanisms struggle against urban atomization and lack enforcement authority (Gaynor, 2020). Achieving sustainable peace in urban neighborhoods ultimately depends on developing hybrid mediation models that combine legal clarity, social equity, and authentic religious ethics of restorative justice (Boehle, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This study reveals a significant socio-religious paradox within the urban Muslim community of Surabaya: despite a high statistical demographic of Muslim residents (85.81%) and a widespread theoretical awareness of Islamic scripts commanding neighborly ethics—such as Surah Al-Nisā' (4:36) and prophetic traditions prohibiting harm (bawā'iq)—inter-neighbor friction and violence remain prevalent. The findings demonstrate that rapid urban migration, severe spatial compression, and micro-cultural diversity frequently create structural stress that overrides normative religious ideals. Minor everyday grievances regarding property boundaries, shared alleyways, and vehicle parking easily escalate into verbal hostility, psychological intimidation, and structural violence, as evidenced by the empirical cases in Nginden and Kedurus.

Regarding conflict management, the research highlights a critical dichotomy between formal administrative interventions and informal relational repair mechanisms. While formal state mechanisms effectively enforce spatial compliance and halt physical violations, they leave underlying emotional animosities unaddressed, leading to prolonged psychological distance. Conversely, informal mediation by community elders (*sesepuh*) and local leaders (*RT/RW*) seeks to preserve social harmony (*rukun*), yet often yields only a fragile, surface-level peace best described by the Javanese idiom ancik-ancik pucuking ri (standing on the tip of a thorn). Due to urban atomization, both models struggle to achieve genuine, long-term reconciliation.

In the context of Islamic Studies, this research offers significant theoretical and practical contributions by bridging the gap between normative Islamic ethics (*akhlaq*) and applied urban sociology. It demonstrates that religious ethics cannot function in a vacuum; without structured spatial management and restorative dialogue mechanisms, scriptural knowledge remains compartmentalized during active social disputes. The study underscores the necessity of moving Islamic social studies beyond text-centric analysis toward an empirically grounded understanding of how urban pressures reshape religious practice. Practically, it advocates for a hybrid conflict resolution model that integrates state administrative authority with faith-based restorative justice, ensuring that Islamic principles of ihsān and ukhuwah are meaningfully operationalized to build genuinely harmonious urban communities.

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