

UNRAVELING THE POSO CONFLICT ANALYSIS OF ROOT CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS FOR RECONCILIATION BASED ON ICEBERG THEORY AND U-THEORY IN RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN CENTRAL SULAWESI

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Abstract :

Indonesia is a vast country rich in religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity, resulting in complex social dynamics prone to conflicts, including the prolonged religious conflict in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi. This paper aims to analyze the root causes and reconciliation solutions of the religious conflict in Poso using the Iceberg Theory and U-Theory approaches. Qualitative methods and analysis of social media data through Social Network Analysis (SNA) and netnography are employed to understand behavioral patterns, social structures, and societal paradigms underlying intolerance and violence. Findings indicate that the Poso conflict is not merely an inter-religious confrontation but also influenced by socio-economic, political, cultural factors, state apparatus bias, and mental models fostering an "us versus them" polarization. The Iceberg Theory reveals the layered dimensions of the conflict, while U-Theory emphasizes collective consciousness transformation as the key to reconciliation. Field studies involving Sai Study Group Indonesia demonstrate that Vedic spiritual values can serve as healing energy and a foundation for peaceful, sustainable reconciliation. This paper recommends multi-dimensional interventions integrating structural changes and mental paradigm shifts to foster tolerance and harmony in Indonesia's pluralistic society.

Key Words : Poso conflict, religious moderation, iceberg u-theory

Introduction

Indonesia is a vast country, consisting of thousands of islands, diverse ethnic groups, and races. Its people have a rich diversity of religions and cultures with various dynamics and phenomena that continue to evolve. These religious phenomena and dynamics can develop positively or negatively. In particular, negative dynamics often arise within the same religion, where certain groups use religion as a tool to achieve their goals with intolerance. This poses a serious challenge to maintaining harmony and peace among religious communities in Indonesia.

In the era of globalization and digital technology development, not all segments of Indonesian society are able to keep up with these changes. This situation has given social media and digital platforms a major role in shaping religious sentiment, which has the potential to trigger prolonged conflict if not managed with appropriate moderation and tolerance. One prominent figure with a moderate concept is Kyai Abdul Rahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur. To maintain harmony among religious communities, an organization called the Wahid Institute was established.

Kyai Abdul Rahman Wahid, affectionately known as Gus Dur, is one of the great figures widely known for his concept of religious moderation. To maintain and strengthen religious harmony in Indonesia, an institution called the Wahid Institute was established. This institution, now known as the Wahid Foundation, was founded on September 7, 2004, amid a global momentum still reeling from the impact of the September 11, 2001 tragedy in New York. At the same time, Indonesia was facing various religious and ethnic conflicts that triggered violence between communities. The Wahid Foundation was established with a strong commitment to realizing the intellectual vision of KH Abdurrahman Wahid, namely to advance Indonesian society and Muslims, improve people's welfare, build fundamental democracy and justice, and promote non-violent peace throughout the world. This institution plays an important role in encouraging interfaith dialogue and strengthening the spirit of tolerance as the foundation of nationality.

Husnul, (2023) in an article by the Wahid Foundation revealed Gus Dur's famous motto about religious moderation in Indonesia, namely "We need a friendly Islam, not an angry Islam." This emphasizes that religion should be a source of peace and tolerance, not hostility or violence. Gus Dur emphasized the importance of moderation, tolerance, and interfaith dialogue as efforts to maintain unity and harmony in a pluralistic nation.

Gus Dur also emphasized three fundamental aspects of religious moderation: strict enforcement of the law against violence in the name of religion, encouraging religious organizations to engage in dialogue and socio-cultural cooperation, and instilling the value of tolerance from an early age in education. This principle calls on society to always do good and respect the rights and obligations of others regardless of their religious or ethnic background. (<https://www.pcinutunisia.co.id>).

Therefore, Gus Dur's motto of religious moderation can be said to be a call to promote a friendly Islam, genuine tolerance, and a moderate and dialogical attitude as the foundation of nationality in Indonesia, so that the ideals of security, peace, and prosperity can be achieved. Gus Dur's intellectual ideal was to build a prosperous Indonesian nation and a socially just humanity by upholding pluralism, multiculturalism, democracy, and human rights inspired by Islamic values. The Wahid Foundation strives to create a peaceful and just world by developing a tolerant and moderate view of Islam and working to build prosperity for all humanity.

However, religious conflicts in Indonesia have continued to occur since the establishment of the Wahid Foundation. The contributing factors include intolerance between religious groups and the partiality of state officials towards certain religious groups. Several non-governmental organizations in Indonesia have begun reporting various cases related to religious conflict in Indonesia. One of the prolonged religious conflicts in Indonesia is the Poso Riots. (<https://wahidfoundation.org>)

After Indonesia underwent political reform in 1998, religious conflict increased due to the strengthening of radical Islamic ideology. Religious conflict in Indonesia after the Wahid Foundation was established can be divided into two types: intra-religious conflict and inter-religious conflict. The most common type of intra-religious conflict in Indonesia at this time is sectarian conflict. This conflict is related to anti-Shia and anti-Ahmadiyya ideologies.

Meanwhile, inter-religious conflict in Indonesia during the Wahid Foundation era was related to issues of places of worship.

This type of paper uses qualitative methods and data from social networks or Social Network Analysis (SNA), and can also be said to use a netnographic approach to understand interactions, behavior patterns, or relationship structures in social media. Social Network Analysis (SNA) focuses on patterns, relationships, and structures among actors in the network, while netnography emphasizes qualitative analysis of the life and culture of online communities. The massive development of technology and the internet throughout the country has led to the development of netnography research methods and their widespread acceptance by diverse academic communities and disciplines. (Priyowidodo, Monograph 2020; 70-78).

The paper “Reducing Conflict in Poso: Analysis of Root Causes and Reconciliation Solutions Based on Iceberg Theory and U-Theory in Religious Conflict in Central Sulawesi” uses the Iceberg Model developed by Peter Senge and Hamilton and U-Theory developed by Otto Schammer. The Iceberg Model is an analytical approach to understanding complex social phenomena, both in the context of organizations and society. The Iceberg Model explains that every event that appears on the surface actually has deeper, invisible layers of causes. These layers consist of patterns of behavior, system structure (social structure and systems), and mental models (perspectives or paradigms). Meanwhile, U-Theory (or Theory U) was developed by Otto Scharmer and further developed by Peter Senge together with other systemic thinkers at MIT. U-Theory is a transformative approach that focuses on a shift of consciousness as the key to profound social and institutional change. (Widyasena, 2025).

This model emphasizes that the deeper the layer analyzed and intervened—from behavior to paradigm; the greater the leverage that can be generated to drive structural, systemic, and sustainable change. Therefore, the Iceberg Model is an effective analytical tool for uncovering the root causes of social phenomena and designing more fundamental and sustainable transformation strategies.

In addition to the Iceberg Model, this paper also uses U-Theory (or Theory U) developed by Otto Scharmer and further developed by Peter Senge together with other systemic thinkers at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). U-Theory is a transformative approach that focuses on a shift of consciousness as the key to profound social and institutional change.

The two have a complementary relationship: the Iceberg Model works as a systemic diagnostic tool, while U-Theory functions as an approach to transforming consciousness and action. Thus, the simultaneous application of these two models enables comprehensive analysis, not only understanding social phenomena at the structural and paradigmatic levels, but also facilitating change that stems from spiritual awareness and deep human values.

Problem Statement

1. What are the realities and dynamics of religious conflict and religious tolerance in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, in the context of a multicultural society?
2. What are the factors that caused religious conflict in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, after the reform?

3. How can Iceberg Theory and U-Theory be used to analyze the root causes of religious conflict and intolerance in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi?

Discussion

1. The reality and dynamics of religious conflict and religious tolerance in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, in the context of a multicultural society.

In general, the increase in religious conflict in Indonesia after the “New Order” has been reported by several non-governmental organizations in Indonesia. These organizations focus their reports on democracy, pluralism, and human rights. According to these organizations' records, religious conflicts consist of incidents of collective violence involving inter-religious and intra-religious sectarian issues. The Wahid Institute noted that in 2010, there were 64 incidents of attacks or violence committed in the name of religion in Indonesia. This number increased significantly compared to 2009, which recorded 35 cases. Meanwhile, the Setara Institute reported that 88 cases of violence or crimes related to religion occurred in 10 regions in Indonesia. These reports do not include hundreds of cases of intolerance and discrimination by majority religious groups against minority religious groups with different religious beliefs. (Wahid Foundation, 2025).

Shani (<https://www.liputan6.com>, 2025), Updating the data in the article entitled “Uncovering the Causes of the Poso Conflict: An In-Depth Analysis of the Prolonged Conflict in Central Sulawesi.” Therefore, the prolonged Poso riots were a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians in Poso Regency. This conflict began in 1992 and recurred in 1995, 1998, 2000, and 2001. The trigger for the Poso Riots was the accumulation of social, economic, political, and religious factors that had been intertwined for a long time. Although on the surface it appeared to be a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians, at a deeper level, the riots were triggered by long-standing structural and cultural tensions within the community. People of religions other than Christianity and Islam, such as the Hindu transmigrant community, were also affected by the riots.

The following is a systematic description by Adam and Malkam (2017: 97-13) in the LP2M IAIN Palu Scientific Journal Research entitled Dynamics of Conflict in Poso Regency, as follows:

1. Initial Trigger (Events)

The conflict first broke out in December 1998, starting with a fight between two young men from different religious groups in the Sayo area of Poso. This minor incident then developed into clashes between residents and escalated into communal conflict between Muslims and Christians. However, this incident was only the surface trigger of long-standing tensions.

2. Social and Economic Factors

The economic gap between migrant communities (who are generally Christian and non-Bugis) and local communities (who are predominantly Muslim and Bugis and Gorontalo) has led to feelings of envy and social jealousy. The transmigration program since the 1970s has also changed the demographic composition, creating economic competition and land disputes. Inequality in access to resources and employment has exacerbated existing social tensions. In this situation, intergroup relations have become increasingly fragile, marked by rising prejudice, stereotypes, and social segregation. Local political factors that often exploit religious and ethnic identities for power have further exacerbated the situation. As a result,

conflicts that were initially rooted in economic and social issues have developed into complex identity conflicts that are difficult to resolve.

3. Political and Power Factors

Ahead of the fall of the New Order regime (1998), there was a struggle for local political influence between elites from two religious groups.

The Poso regent election gave rise to religiously-tinged political rivalry, as bureaucratic and governmental positions tended to be dominated by one group.

After the reform, weak security control and the emergence of armed groups worsened the situation.

4. Religious and Cultural Factors

Religious fanaticism and identity exclusivism developed through religious lectures and spiritual activities that contained elements of hatred towards other groups. Each group began to mobilize the masses in the name of religion, causing social conflicts to shift into ideological conflicts. The entry of militant groups such as Laskar Jihad (from outside Sulawesi) and Christian armed groups exacerbated the violence by bringing in the narrative of a "holy war."

5. Structural Involvement and Mental Models

When viewed from the Iceberg Model approach, violent events are only the tip of the iceberg. Beneath the surface lie patterns of behavior in the form of cycles of revenge, suspicion, and social segregation (the separation of social groups based on differences such as ethnicity, religion, or race, which leads to different treatment in society, usually related to discrimination or physical and social restrictions).

Furthermore, social structures such as economic inequality, bureaucratic discrimination, and weak laws contribute to patterns of violence. At the most fundamental level, the mental model (paradigm) of society is filled with an "us and them" (in-group vs. out-group) perspective, as well as the belief that religious identity must be maintained exclusively and absolutely.

6. Other Factors that Prolong Conflict

The flow of illegal weapons and weak security forces, biased local media propaganda, collective trauma and intergenerational social resentment. The lack of state presence in law enforcement and early reconciliation. Therefore, the Poso riots were not only a conflict between religious groups, but a manifestation of socio-structural tensions and a crisis of the humanitarian paradigm.

When analyzed using U-Theory, the solution is not sufficient at the reactive level (law enforcement or formal reconciliation), but must go through a transformation of collective consciousness, opening the mind, heart, and will so that society can rebuild trust and a sense of brotherhood across faiths.

During the Poso riots of 1999-2000, the author (I Wayan Joni Artha) was in Padalembara Village, Poso District, with a group from Bali and Jakarta, led by the late Tjokorda Raka Pemajun, a Hindu social-spiritual leader based on the teachings of the Weda Sai Study Group Indonesia. The group's visit was part of a humanitarian mission focused on mental and

spiritual assistance, medical services, and the distribution of basic food supplies to communities affected by conflict.

For approximately one month in the affected areas, particularly in the villages of Puluk-puluk and Padalembara, activities focused on psychological and spiritual recovery for the victims, especially the transmigrants from Bali. Through dharma wacana activities, reflective discussions, and storytelling sessions with residents, the group sought to rekindle the spirit of life, a sense of brotherhood, and spiritual faith that had been weakened by the trauma of conflict. The approach taken was not only material in nature, but also emphasized the values of dharma, compassion, and cross-human solidarity, in accordance with the Hindu principle of sincere service (sevanam). The presence of Sai Study Group Indonesia in this humanitarian mission not only served as a form of social solidarity, but also as a tangible manifestation of selfless service (sevanam) based on universal Vedic values such as satya (truth), dharma (virtue), shanti (peace), prema (love), and ahimsa (non-violence). Through this spiritual and empathetic approach, the volunteers sought to revive the victims' self-confidence, zest for life, and spiritual awareness, so that they would not be consumed by trauma and hatred.

Activities included dharma wacana to nurture inner strength, bhajan (devotional singing) to calm the mind, open discussions to restore a sense of togetherness, as well as health services and distribution of basic necessities to meet the basic needs of the refugees. In this process, Sai volunteers do not discriminate based on religious or ethnic background, but emphasize the universal human value that every being is a manifestation of God (Atman sarva bhuteshu).

This approach is also an implementation of Vedic-based social theology, in which spirituality does not stop at the level of ritual and contemplation, but is manifested in acts of love, care, and service to others. The experience in Poso in 2000 is a concrete example of how spiritual values can become healing energy for a community wounded by conflict, as well as a foundation for a more peaceful and harmonious social reconstruction.

In accordance with the first problem statement, which reads, "What are the realities and dynamics of religious conflict and diversity tolerance in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, in the context of a multicultural society?" Therefore, it is relevant to use the Iceberg Model approach to understand the Poso conflict as a multidimensional phenomenon with deep structural and cultural roots. Meanwhile, Theory U provides a framework for understanding the transformation of consciousness that occurs through empathetic experiences, spiritual reflection, and collective action. This field experience shows that true social change is not only born from structural intervention, but from an open heart, an open mind, and an open will. Thus, the Sai Study Group is present there, contributing with an example that the essence of spiritual service is in the concept of Sevanam.

1. Factors contributing to the emergence of religious conflict in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, after the reform era.

The Wahid Institute states that there are two factors that trigger religious conflict in Indonesia. First, the existence of religious groups that are lay but capable of mobilizing masses to reject other religious groups considered heretical leads to excessive religious fanaticism that tends to be exclusive. Second, there is a tendency for the will of lay groups to be accepted

unquestioningly by state officials, which often occurs during the democratic ritual of regional head elections.

a. Religious fanaticism

Common triggers of religious conflict in Indonesia are exclusive religious attitudes and competition between religious groups for support. Both of these attitudes lead to religious conflict when they are not accompanied by tolerance. Religious fanaticism in Indonesia causes inter-religious and intra-religious disputes and conflicts.

In the description (<https://id.wikipedia.org>), Tolerance refers to the actions or attitudes of a person who allows or accepts the existence of values, ideas, objects, or people that they do not agree with. Etymologically, tolerance comes from the Latin word *tolerare*, which means "to bear," "to accept patiently," or "to allow." The broad definition of tolerance is human behavior or attitude that "does not deviate from the applicable laws" in a country, where a person respects or appreciates every action taken by others as long as it is within certain limits.

Tolerance can prevent discrimination such as racism, even though there are many different groups or classes within a community. Tolerance occurs because of the desire to avoid disputes that are mutually detrimental to both parties as much as possible. Examples of tolerance in general include: respecting the opinions of others who think differently from us, and helping one another regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, and class. The term tolerance covers many areas. One of them is religious tolerance, which is an attitude of mutual respect and appreciation among followers of other religions, such as: 1) Not forcing others to convert to our religion; 2) Not criticizing/insulting other religions for any reason; and 3) Not prohibiting or disturbing followers of other religions from worshiping according to their respective religions/beliefs.

The Wahid Institute's findings show that there are two main factors that often trigger religious conflict in Indonesia. First, the existence of religious groups that are lay but have the ability to mobilize masses to reject other groups that are considered "heretical." This attitude gives rise to excessive religious fanaticism, which tends to be exclusive and closes the space for dialogue. Second, the tendency of state officials to easily accept pressure or the will of the majority group without considering principles of justice and the constitution, especially during moments of democratic ritual such as regional elections. In this context, religion is often used as a political tool to gain legitimacy of power (The Wahid Institute, 2010).

b. Regional Head Elections

The implementation of regional head elections in Indonesia is the main means of creating competition between social and political forces in Indonesia. This competition generally gives rise to ethnic and religious sentiments. Several regions in Indonesia generally experience social conflicts based on religious sentiment. A side effect that can be caused by regional head elections is violence. This only occurs when there is mobilization of political and social forces that promote intolerant ideologies.

When linked to the Poso conflict, these two factors are clearly evident in the social and political dynamics that developed from the late 1990s to the early 2000s. At that time, the

polarization of religious and ethnic identities became increasingly sharp as local political tensions rose. Certain community groups that felt they represented a particular religion often mobilized the masses to defend their “rights” or “religious dignity,” so that minor issues in the field quickly turned into horizontal conflicts with religious overtones.

In addition, the non-neutral role of the state and security forces exacerbated the situation. In a number of cases, the authorities were influenced by social and political pressure from dominant groups, or were even considered to be siding with one religious group. This phenomenon is in line with The Wahid Institute's analysis that the “will of the common people” is often accepted unquestioningly by state officials, leading to a crisis of public confidence in the justice of the state.

Therefore, in the context of the Poso conflict, the weak neutrality of state apparatus and the politicization of religion in regional head elections deepened social segregation between local Muslim groups and immigrant Christian groups. The conflict, which was originally rooted in economic competition and the struggle for resources, gained moral and political legitimacy through religious narratives. As a result, the violence that occurred was no longer merely a form of social tension, but rather a war of identity in the name of religion, as reflected in the layers of the Iceberg Model, where violent events are only the surface symptoms of deeper structural inequalities and distortions of values. power (The Wahid Institute, 2010).

3. Analysis of Iceberg Theory and U-Theory mitigates problems of religious conflict and intolerance in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi

The phenomenon of religious conflict and intolerance in Indonesia often appears only as sporadic events that attract public attention, such as demonstrations or inter-community violence. This picture is like the tip of an iceberg, revealing only a small part of a problem that is actually complex and hidden beneath the surface of a diverse society. To understand the dynamics of intolerance comprehensively, an analytical framework is needed that can penetrate this superficial layer. The Iceberg Theory, introduced in systems thinking by Peter M. Senge, divides analysis into four main levels: Events, Patterns, Systemic Structures, and Mental Models. Each layer is interrelated and determines the nature of the intolerance that emerges. Focusing only on surface events results in reactive solutions that do not address the root of the problem, while a deep understanding of the structural and mental model layers enables more effective and sustainable handling of religious extremism and intolerance.

a. Developments that have led to an inadequate response to the growth of religious extremist groups.

The phenomenon of religious conflict and intolerance often only appears on the surface as sporadic events that attract public attention, such as demonstrations, discrimination, or inter-community violence. This surface appearance, analogous to the tip of an iceberg visible above the water, provides a partial and often misleading picture of the complexity of issues that actually occur in a pluralistic society such as Indonesia. To understand the dynamics of intolerance in depth, an analytical framework is needed that is capable of penetrating these superficial layers. The Iceberg Theory, popularized in the context of Systems Thinking by Peter M. Senge, offers a systematic methodology for exploring the root causes hidden beneath the surface. (Senge, P. M. 2006) The application of the Iceberg framework in socio-religious studies divides the analysis into four main levels: Events, Patterns, Systemic Structures, and

Mental Models. Each of these layers is interrelated and determines the nature of intolerance that is manifested.

The correlation between the Iceberg Theory and the development trends that have led to the suboptimal response to religious extremism is as follows:

1. The phenomenon of religious conflict and intolerance, which often appears as sporadic events, is only a superficial reflection of a much more complex and deep-rooted problem in society. This surface layer reveals events such as demonstrations or inter-community violence, but the real root of the problem is hidden beneath it in the form of repetitive behavior patterns, supporting system structures, and mental models that underlie intolerance.
2. Behavioral patterns show trends or tendencies of intolerance that continue without resolution, while systemic structures include social, political, and economic conditions that facilitate or even encourage the emergence of intolerance and extremism. Mental models are related to beliefs, stereotypes, or paradigms held by society that reinforce exclusive and intolerant attitudes.
3. Therefore, focusing only on addressing surface events is ineffective in optimally dealing with religious extremism. An effective approach must penetrate the structural and mental model layers, identifying and changing the hidden root causes so that the conflicts and intolerance that are the basis of extremism can be resolved in a sustainable manner.

Therefore, the relevance of the Iceberg Theory helps explain why religious extremism continues to grow and why short-term solutions are insufficient, requiring systemic change and a transformation in the mindset of society. This comprehensive approach demands a deep understanding of the root causes hidden within behavioral patterns, systemic structures, and the mental models of society. Only with interventions that touch on these layers can the process of preventing and addressing religious extremism be more effective, sustainable, and capable of creating lasting social harmony in a diverse society such as Indonesia. This approach also encourages a paradigm shift from merely reacting to surface symptoms to proactively addressing the structural and cultural sources of intolerance.

a. Structural conditions, traditions, community organizations, and government policies.

System structure refers to formal and informal rules, institutions, policies, resource allocation, and power relations that enable patterns of intolerance to occur and persist. In the Indonesian context, this can include a regulatory framework that is biased or weak in enforcing minority protection laws. (Pamungkas, C., & Permana, Y. S. (Eds.). 2020). Research on intolerance and identity politics in Indonesia shows that legal and political structures often become arenas where the religious identity of the majority is favored, which indirectly creates exclusionary politics. (Pamungkas, C., & Permana, Y. S. (Eds.). 2020). This structure becomes an anchor that supports patterns of intolerant behavior. Furthermore, the deepest and most influential layer is Mental Models. These are the assumptions, beliefs, values, and fundamental paradigms held by individuals and collectives that shape their views of others who have different beliefs. (Senge, P. M. 2006).

This mental model is the most difficult hidden root to change. In the context of religion, this mental model manifests itself in the interpretation of doctrine, understanding of absolute truth, and exclusive historical narratives. (Pamungkas, C., & Permana, Y. S. (Eds.). 2020).

When the mental model of the majority group believes that their religious truth is the only valid one, this automatically results in a social structure that tends to reject, or at least marginalize, the views of other groups, which then manifests itself in patterns of discrimination. Hamayotsu, K. (2014). An in-depth analysis of intolerance shows that conflicts are often not purely theological clashes, but rather the result of how these theological narratives are politicized and framed by identity interests. (Pamungkas, C., & Permana, Y. S. (Eds.). 2020). This identity politics is deeply rooted in collective mental models.

Otto Scharmer, through the Theory U framework, also emphasizes the importance of looking “down” toward the source of the system, which is in line with efforts to find Mental Models in Iceberg Theory. (Scharmer, O. 2016). True change requires access to this deepest layer. In the case of intolerance in Indonesia, superficial change (e.g., issuing statements of tolerance immediately after a conflict) will only be effective temporarily. This is because the mental model that drives intolerance has not changed and will continue to give rise to new events.

For students of Hindu Religious Studies, understanding this means seeing that the solution to intolerance lies not only in affirming Hindu doctrines of tolerance (the concepts of Tat Twam Asi and Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam), but also in how the Mental Models of the Hindu community and other communities interact with and are responded to by the prevailing System Structure. (Senge, P. M. 2006) Changing the System Structure requires targeted intervention, for example through advocacy for fair policies. However, structural change will only be sustainable if it is supported by a shift in the Mental Models of stakeholders: religious leaders, officials, and the general public. (Scharmer, O. 2016)

Changes in the Mental Model layer require a process of deep reflection and ongoing critical dialogue, a process that is implicitly aimed at by transformative religious education. (Pamungkas, C., & Permana, Y. S. (Eds.). 2020). This is the biggest challenge in overcoming grassroots intolerance. Thus, Iceberg Theory provides a powerful diagnostic roadmap: we must move from simply reporting incidents of discrimination (the tip of the iceberg) to systematic efforts to identify and reconstruct discriminatory System Structures and, most importantly, the collective Mental Models that justify such injustice. (Senge, P. M. 2006), Iceberg Theory serves as a critical lens for religious studies students to avoid getting caught up in the surface of conflict news. This analysis requires a focus on hidden variables: Patterns, Structures, and Mental Models that structurally produce recurring intolerance in Indonesia. (Hamayotsu, K. 2014). Only with interventions that target the deepest layer, namely changing the fundamental way society views diversity, can efforts to achieve peaceful and sustainable coexistence in Indonesia be realized, going beyond merely extinguishing the flames on the surface of the water. (Scharmer, O. 2016).

Profound and sustainable change in overcoming religious intolerance in Indonesia can only be achieved by changing the deepest layer, namely the collective mental model that shapes the mindset and paradigm of society. Although structural reform through fair policies and law enforcement is very important, long-term success depends on fundamental changes in the perspectives and values of religious leaders, officials, and the wider community. Without this transformation, temporary and reactive solutions will not be able to address the root causes of intolerance and extremism. Therefore, a comprehensive approach that combines

structural reform and transformative education is needed to create peaceful and sustainable coexistence in Indonesia's pluralistic society. (Pratama, 2015)

Conclusion

Based on the description of "The Poso Conflict: Analysis of Root Causes and Solutions for Reconciliation Based on Iceberg Theory and U-Theory in Religious Conflicts in Central Sulawesi," the problems presented in this paper are as follows:

1. Religious conflict in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, is a multidimensional phenomenon involving social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics in a multicultural society. This conflict is not only inter-religious but also intra-religious, with recurring patterns of intolerance and widespread impacts on society, including minority groups and transmigrants.
2. The main factors causing religious conflict in Poso after the reform include exclusive religious fanaticism, local political competition based on religion and ethnicity, economic inequality, and the partiality of state officials, which exacerbates the situation. All these factors are interrelated and reinforce social tensions and identity conflicts.
3. The Iceberg Theory and U-Theory approaches are effective for analyzing and mitigating religious conflict in Poso by exploring the root causes of the problem, from surface events to behavioral patterns, social structures, and deep-seated mental paradigms. True social transformation can only be achieved through a change in collective consciousness that opens hearts, minds, and wills to build reconciliation and sustainable tolerance in society.
4. The Sai Indonesia Study Group is here to bring solutions in this humanitarian mission, not only as a form of social solidarity, but also as a manifestation of *sevanam* (selfless service) based on universal Vedic values such as *satya*, *dharma*, *shanti*, *prema*, and *ahimsa*. Through a spiritual and empathetic approach, volunteers help restore the victims' self-confidence, zest for life, and spiritual awareness so that they can avoid trauma and hatred.

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