Examining *War Takjil* as a Practice of Social Cohesion: Interfaith Interaction on Social Media

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Abstract
This study explores the phenomenon of the *war takjil* on TikTok during Ramadan 2024 as a manifestation of interreligious social cohesion in Indonesia. Emerging amidst heightened political tensions and religious identity polarization in the lead-up to the general election, this phenomenon stands in contrast to the dominant narratives of conflict often found on social media. The *war takjil* trend instead showcases harmonious interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the shared social activity of seeking *takjil* (pre-fast breaking meals). Employing a qualitative approach through netnographic methods, the study draws on Émile Durkheim's theory of social cohesion to analyze the organic solidarity cultivated within digital spaces. The findings reveal that the *war takjil* reflects a shift from a condition of *anomie* toward social harmony, and highlights the role of social media, particularly TikTok, as a new arena for fostering solidarity and cross-identity communication. Thus, this phenomenon offers a concrete example of how religious and cultural practices can intertwine to form inclusive and constructive social cohesion in the digital age.

Keywords: *War Takjil; Social Cohesion; Digital Age; Religious Practices*

Introduction

The current trend of social media has facilitated mass, effective, and organized social interactions. As a web-based technology, social media has transformed traditional communication into interactive dialogue (Fitriansyah, 2018). Consequently, it enables users from diverse backgrounds and cultures to engage with one another more easily. Indonesia, as a nation characterized by a pluralistic social structure—comprising various ethnic groups, races, and religions—possesses an invaluable richness in its diversity. However, this very plurality also carries the potential risk of

national disintegration if differences are not managed wisely. Among the forms of Indonesia's societal pluralism are differences in religion, culture, and ideology, which, at times, can foster either harmony or conflict—including within the realm of social media (Saumur, 2019).

On February 14, 2024, Indonesia held simultaneous general elections across all regions. During this period, social media platforms such as Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, and especially TikTok were inundated daily with posts related to the elections, most of which expressed support for particular candidates. As a result, these platforms became saturated with content reflecting a wide array of opinions on the electoral process. Some of this content also touched on religious themes, leading to heated arguments and public disputes on social media.

Tensions further escalated when certain political candidates began employing religion as a tool for campaigning. During the presidential election, for instance, Muhaimin Iskandar, popularly known as Cak Imin, stated in his speech at the *Mlaku Bareng AMIN* event in Sidoarjo on October 15, 2023, that he would fight for the Palestinian cause if the AMIN ticket won the 2024 election. He declared: "If AMIN wins, we defend Palestine. If AMIN wins, we save Palestine—agreed? If AMIN wins, Indonesia will prosper" (Dirgantara & Kuwado, 2023). Similarly, Anies Rasyid Baswedan faced religiously charged rhetoric during his campaign visit to West Java. At an event commemorating the *manaqib* of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani at the Grand Mosque in Cimahi on August 15, 2023, West Javanese religious leader Shaykh Muhammad Abdul Gaos Saefulloh Maslul (Abah Aos) proclaimed Anies to be none other than the Mahdi: "Who is the Mahdi? Professor Dr. Anies Rasyid Baswedan— that is the Mahdi," he said (Mellana & Alvinasari, 2023). Another example involves Ganjar Pranowo, whose appearance in a public television call-to-prayer video sparked controversy. In the video, Ganjar is seen performing ablution (*wudu*) and participating in congregational prayer at a mosque while dressed in traditional Muslim attire. Electoral observer Kaka Sumita criticized the video as a form of identity politics, suggesting that Ganjar was deliberately showcasing his religious affiliation to influence public opinion (BBC News Indonesia, 2023).

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Such developments fueled growing tensions on social media during the election period, revealing how political and religious differences can converge into unproductive and polarizing conflict. Though the intensity of electoral discourse gradually subsided with the arrival of Ramadan in early March, discussions remained lively. Content creators, aware of the lingering divisiveness online, began shifting their focus toward Ramadan-related topics. These included health tips for fasting, ideas for iftar meals, recommended locations for group iftar gatherings (*bukber*), and interesting facts about the holy month.

Ramadan has always been a special time for Muslims worldwide, including in Indonesia, where the month is marked by various cultural traditions. One such tradition is *ngabuburit*, a Sundanese term derived from *ngalantung ngadagoan burit*, meaning "passing the time while waiting for dusk" (Maulana, 2023). In other regions, local terms such as *malengah puaso* (in Minangkabau, meaning distracting oneself from thirst and hunger during fasting) are also used (Sugiyono, 2021). *Ngabuburit* activities often include reading the Qur'an, socializing with friends and family, or hunting for *takjil* (light meals to break the fast). What is particularly noteworthy this year is that the practice of *takjil hunting* was not limited to Muslims. Non-Muslims also actively participated, driven by the viral *"war takjil"* trend on social media, especially TikTok. From the onset of Ramadan, the *war takjil* phenomenon gained popularity among non-Muslim users and frequently appeared on the platform's *For You Page (FYP)* and other digital spaces.

This phenomenon points to the emergence of a more fluid space of religious expression, where religious identity becomes a bridge rather than a boundary. Social media platforms such as TikTok have become influential arenas for shaping public opinion, including on matters of religion. Amid the potential for hate speech, such as that seen during electoral opinion wars, the rise of positive content like *war takjil* signals new possibilities for culturally grounded peacebuilding practices. This makes the trend a compelling object of study, particularly because *war takjil* content reflects values of harmony that resonate meaningfully in digital spaces.

Several existing studies on *war takjil* have largely focused on its connection to the values of tolerance expressed during Ramadan. For example, Ayuk Yulia Saprianti

and Ita Rodiah (2025) examined Muslim responses to non-Muslim participation and linked it to religious tolerance. Febriyanti et al. (2024) argued that non-Muslim involvement in *takjil hunting* was a tangible expression of Pancasila's values—particularly the principle of unity. Aminah and Muyassaroh (2024) highlighted the role of social media in spreading messages of tolerance through creative *war takjil*-themed content. Empirically, Balqissyah et al. (2024) found that non-Muslim consumers exhibited mutual respect and openness toward Islamic culture. Finally, Nada and Ma'arif (2024) emphasized that the *war takjil* phenomenon reflects social integration and multicultural awareness. This study differs from previous research in that it does not merely portray *war takjil* as a symbol of tolerance, but instead analyzes it as a manifestation of interfaith social cohesion in digital spaces. By integrating the theoretical perspectives of Émile Durkheim, Jürgen Habermas, and Robert Putnam, this research offers an interdisciplinary approach that has been underexplored in similar studies.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach using netnography as its primary strategy for data collection and analysis. Netnography, first introduced by Robert Kozinets (2006), is an adaptation of traditional ethnography to the context of online communities. As a qualitative research method, netnography emphasizes participatory observation within digital communities, including social media platforms, online forums, and other virtual spaces. This method is particularly well-suited for examining social practices, symbols, values, and interactions that occur in digital environments, without requiring the physical presence of the researcher in the field.

The study adopts Émile Durkheim's theory of social cohesion as its analytical framework. Durkheim conceptualizes social cohesion as the bonds that unite individuals within a society. These bonds arise from shared values, norms, sentiments, ideals, moral commitments, and collective beliefs held by members of a community. Social cohesion, according to Durkheim (2019), constitutes the foundation upon which societies are able to function in an orderly and harmonious manner. He argues that

such shared beliefs form an integrated system that exerts a binding force within society.

Durkheim classifies social solidarity into two distinct forms: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity characterizes simpler societies whose members share similar occupations, beliefs, and lifestyles. In such contexts, collective consciousness is strong because individuals possess nearly identical worldviews. Durkheim notes that in these societies, the collective conscience encompasses almost the entire consciousness of each individual. In contrast, organic solidarity emerges in more complex and diverse societies. In these contexts, individuals perform differentiated roles yet remain interdependent. Social bonds are formed through cooperation and mutual reliance among these distinct roles. Durkheim argues that in modern societies, the sense of solidarity arises not from similarity, but from functional interdependence (Deineko, 2020). In contemporary digital society such as that of present-day Indonesia particularly within social media platforms, the prevailing form of solidarity tends to be organic. The *War Takjil* phenomenon, which brings together individuals from different religious backgrounds in a shared social activity, reflects a type of solidarity rooted in shared experience despite diverse identities.

Durkheim also introduces the concept of *anomie*, referring to a condition in which societal norms and values become weakened or unclear (Olsen, 1965). In such circumstances, individuals may experience confusion and a loss of direction. *Anomie* often arises when societal change occurs too rapidly, leaving individuals without sufficient time to adapt (Marks, 1974). This condition is observable, for instance, in the heightened tensions on social media during election periods, when users frequently engage in hostile exchanges due to political and ideological differences.

Result

War Takjil on Tiktok

The tradition of breaking the fast with *takjil* is a cherished moment for Muslims during the month of Ramadan not only as a way to replenish energy after a day of fasting but also as an opportunity for sharing and strengthening communal solidarity.

This tradition has been an integral part of Indonesian cultural and religious life for centuries.

The phenomenon of *takjil hunting*, which emerged during Ramadan 2024, became popularly known as *war takjil*. The term "war" here does not refer to violence, but rather captures the excitement and enthusiasm of people—including non-Muslims—joining in the search for *takjil*, even if they themselves are not fasting. The narratives within *war takjil* posts typically describe non-Muslims beginning their hunt for *takjil* between 2:00 and 3:00 PM—precisely when Muslims are at the height of their hunger during the fast. These posts are followed by hundreds, sometimes thousands, of positive comments from both Muslim and non-Muslim users, generating a digital atmosphere marked by harmony and good humor.

The phenomenon gained even greater traction when a religious leader, Reverend Steve Marcel Saerang, addressed the *war takjil* trend in a sermon at Tiberias Church. With a touch of humor—"When it comes to religion, we are tolerant; but when it comes to *takjil*, we go first"—his sermon, recorded and uploaded by TikTok user @mewlon3 on March 18, 2024, received an outpouring of positive reactions from netizens. Many interpreted the humor as a sincere reflection of interfaith solidarity and mutual affection.

As the *war takjil* trend went viral, it inspired a wave of playful commentary on social media. Non-Muslim users contributed humorous takes, such as:

Table 1. Netizen Comments (Non-Muslim and Muslim) on *War Takjil*

Tiktok Account	Excerpt	Category
@fxyudhadhrnwn	"Our religions may differ, but *takjil* is for all. Your religion is yours, but your *takjil* is mine too." (*Agama kita boleh beda tapi takjilnya untuk bersama, untukmu agamamu tapi takjilmu juga takjilku*).	Non-Muslim
@soniwaruwu	"To our Muslim friends who reported us to the pastor for finishing your *takjil*, you don't realize it was your own people who told us the *war* starts at	Non-Muslim

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	3 PM." (*Buat saudara Muslim yang kemarin mengadukan kami ke pendeta gara-gara ngabisin takjil kalian, kalian gak tau kalo yang nyuruh perang takjil dimulai dari jam 3 sore siapa?*)	
@lepi_ntmulu	"I'm non-Muslim, but I've memorized the Five Pillars of Islam and the number of *rak'ahs* in each prayer so when I go *takjil* hunting, I know the password." (*Saya non-Islam, rukun Islam sudah hafal, jumlah rakaat tiap salat saya juga tau, supaya ketika berburu takjil saya sudah hafal password-nya*).	Non-Muslim
@queen_bee	"The event is ours, but five religions show up. They start hunting at 2 or 3 PM, while we Muslims are clinging to life." (*Yang punya event satu agama, tapi yang ikut war lima agama. Mereka start war dari jam 2-3, sedangkan kami yang punya event jam segitu sedang sekarat-sekaratnya*).	Muslim
@elisginting777	"Please compete fairly. *Takjil* hunting begins at 4:30. At 2 or 3 PM, we Muslims are just trying to survive." (*Mas tolong bersaing secara sehat ya, berburu takjil itu jam 4.30, kalo jam 2 atau jam 3 kami yang Islam lagi bertahan hidup*).	Muslim
@april9361	"Friends who aren't fasting, please give us priority. Don't let us end up only getting the leftovers." (*Tolong dong teman-teman yang gak puasa. Dahulukan kami yang puasa. Masa kami beli takjil sisa hikmahnya saja*).	Muslim
@kimmitaetae11	"No wonder their hunt is so well-organized — it turns out they have a commander. At 5 PM, we're left with a spring roll with a broken spine." (*Pantesan perburuan takjil mereka terstruktur dan*	Muslim

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	sistematis, ternyata ada arahan dari pemimpin pasukan, *kami jam 5 cuma dapat risol yang punggungnya patah*).	
@ig_didi_w88	"Watch out! Come Easter, we're buying out all the eggs so you have to celebrate with Kinder Joys." (*Awas ya kalian, ketika Paskah kita borong semua telur, biar kalian Paskahnya pakai Kinder Joy*).	Muslim
@ayas_peanut	"I have a Chinese-Indonesian friend who's always front row in *war takjil*. Just wait till Lunar New Year—I'll hoard all the incense sticks so they have to pray with *cilok* sticks." (*Punya temen Chindo tapi dia selalu shaf depan war takjil. Awas aja ya Imlek, aku borong semua dupanya biar dia ibadah pakai lidi cilok*).	Muslim

As Ramadan came to a close, heartwarming and positive messages began to emerge from both Muslims and non-Muslims, marking this Ramadan as a uniquely harmonious interfaith moment. Examples include:

Table 2. Expressions of Harmony on *War Takjil*

Tiktok Account	Excerpt	Category
@adami.daman	"Divided by political opinion wars, reunited by the harmony of *war takjil*." (*Dipisahkan oleh politik melalui perang opini, dan dipersatukan kembali oleh perang takjil yang harmoni*).	Social reflection
@aulhiaputri	"This Ramadan felt like having so many non-Muslim siblings. Thank you for filling our holy month with joy. Greetings of tolerance from your Muslim friends." (*Vibes Ramadan tahun ini berasa punya banyak keluarga non-Muslim. Terima kasih*	Inclusive appreciation

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	sudah meramaikan Ramadan kami dengan penuh suka cita. Salam toleransi dari umat Islam).	
@guardianoffamily	"Believe me, my friend, no *takjil* is sweeter than the taste of harmonious diversity." (*Percayalah sahabatku, tiada takjil yang lebih manis dibanding keberagaman yang harmonis*).	Reflection on diversity
@darwinekaputragea1	"I'm Catholic. Thank you, my Muslim friends, for the warmth of this Ramadan. If it turns out your heaven is the true one, please pray for us—that we may also be forgiven by Him. Promise me we'll stay united until we meet in Paradise." (*Saya Katolik, terima kasih teman-teman Muslimku atas kehangatan Ramadan kali ini. Kalau memang nanti surgamulah yang benar, maka doakanlah kami agar kami bisa diampuni-Nya. Janji ya kita rukun terus sampai kita bertemu di surga*).	Non-Muslims, religious affection

Several public figures also responded positively to the *war takjil* phenomenon. Among them:

Table 3. Public Figures' Responses to the *War Takjil* Phenomenon

Figure Name	Statements
KH. Bahauddin Nur Salim (Gus Baha)	"Buying or sharing *takjil* is a form of charity. In this holy month, giving is highly recommended. Charity takes many forms—even those who love to snack are engaging in charity."

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Muhadjir Effendy, Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Cultural Affairs of Indonesia	"This is a beautiful phenomenon, as it reflects religious maturity. People now understand that religious devotion does not equate to fanaticism. Participating in *takjil* hunting does not mean they are unfaithful to their religion; rather, it indicates a certain spiritual maturity that enables constructive dialogue across religious lines."
"Husein Ja'far Al-Hadar	"*War takjil* embodies both tolerance and mutual assistance. I believe we all benefit from one another. Once, religion was a cause of violent clashes like the Crusades. Now, it brings people together in shared generosity through *war takjil*

Discussion

War Takjil as a Reflection of Social Cohesion

The *war takjil* phenomenon that went viral on TikTok during Ramadan 2024 cannot be separated from the broader sociopolitical context of Indonesia, which at that time was gripped by religious and political polarization in the aftermath of the general election. Social media, particularly during the campaign period and immediately after the vote, had become a battlefield of symbolic conflict, where hate speech, disinformation, and sectarian narratives spread widely. In such a climate, the *war takjil* trend emerged as an antithesis to the digital disintegration that had previously dominated the online public sphere.

Using Émile Durkheim's (2019) theoretical framework of social cohesion, this analysis seeks to understand how seemingly banal social practices—such as collectively hunting for *takjil* (pre-iftar snacks) and documenting the activity on social media—can function as a medium for producing inclusive social solidarity. This activity represents a turning point, marking the transformation of digital spaces from arenas of conflict into sites of social reconciliation, bridging relationships among identities that had previously been tense.

Durkheim distinguishes between mechanical and organic solidarity as two forms of social cohesion in society (Thijssen, 2012). *War takjil* represents a form of organic solidarity, where cohesion is not based on homogeneity of beliefs or values but rather on differentiated roles and cooperation among individuals in a complex society. The participation of TikTok users across religious lines in this trend reflects the mutual interdependence characteristic of organic solidarity: each social actor plays a distinct role yet complements one another in creating an inclusive and joyous Ramadan atmosphere.

Humorous narratives, appreciative comments, and collective participation through video content construct a form of symbolic communication that reinforces a shared emotional resonance among users. *War takjil* is not merely about hunting for iftar food but also serves as a digital celebration of diversity that is positively managed. These contents function as "virtual rituals," creating shared experiences and strengthening imagined solidarity among digital citizens without erasing differences in belief (Kantari et al., 2023).

Durkheim introduces the concept of *anomie* to describe a social condition in which shared norms and values weaken, particularly during periods of rapid social change (Meštrović & Brown, 1985; Serpa & Ferreira, 2018). The 2024 election revealed symptoms of digital anomie, marked by chaotic public communication, the collapse of dialogic civility, and the intensification of religion-based horizontal conflict (Pradipta et al., 2023). This situation risked producing social alienation and eroding intergroup trust networks. Conversely, the *war takjil* phenomenon can be read as a form of *re-norming* — a process of organically reconstructing social norms in digital space. When social media users collectively engage in activities that are inclusive and culturally-religious in tone, values such as mutual respect, tolerance, and togetherness are revitalized (Aminah & Muyassaroh, 2024). *War takjil* thus exemplifies a form of digital healing space, a virtual social arena that helps mend collective wounds caused by prior social conflicts. It demonstrates that digital spaces are not merely channels for content circulation but also arenas for the formation of new social meanings (Puspitasari et al., 2025). This practice shows that society is not passive in the face of disintegration;

rather, it actively seeks and creates alternative forms of cohesion through new social symbolisms.

TikTok, as a medium, possesses characteristics that facilitate digital social cohesion. Its interest-based content circulation algorithm allows the rapid viral spread of positive narratives (Rasjid et al., 2024). In the context of *war takjil*, TikTok provides the technological infrastructure to create a "parallel social space" that transcends geographical and religious boundaries. This platform enables the emergence of a *deliberative digital public*, a discursive community where cross-identity participation occurs on an equal and non-hierarchical basis. Although it does not always fulfill the ideal Habermasian notion of deliberation, the interactions within *war takjil* illustrate a form of intersubjective understanding born from a collective experience that is both joyful and inclusive. Hence, TikTok functions not only as a space for entertainment but also as a site for constructing new social values, reflecting how society manages plurality in the digital context. *War takjil* demonstrates that digital platforms can be mobilized as a medium of civic engagement and digital togetherness, where social cohesion is reproduced through light yet meaningful cultural practices (Salsabila et al., 2025).

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the *war takjil* trend on TikTok is not merely a viral entertainment phenomenon but reflects a form of social solidarity characteristic of modern Indonesian society. This phenomenon illustrates how digital media can function as a productive space to strengthen interreligious cohesion, particularly in the aftermath of heightened political tensions and opinion conflicts during the post-election period. The *war takjil* activity serves as a concrete example of how simple digital rituals can generate shared experiences, foster collective emotional resonance, and create imagined solidarity in the virtual sphere.

Furthermore, these findings underscore that social media—though often perceived as a catalyst for social disintegration—also possesses the potential to serve as a space for cultural reconciliation and social recovery (*digital healing space*). In other

words, seemingly light cultural practices such as *war takjil* can play a strategic role in reinforcing networks of trust and tolerance among social groups in the digital era.

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