

Faith-Sensitive Social Policy: Religious Social Capital and Moral Mediation in *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH)

Khotibul Umam

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Corresponding Author: khotibul.umam@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract

Religion is increasingly recognized as a resource in welfare provision, yet its role within the frontline implementation of state-administered social protection remains underexamined. This study investigates how religious values operate as social capital and moral mediation in Indonesia's *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH), a conditional cash transfer program. A qualitative case study was conducted in four subdistricts of Cilacap Regency using in-depth interviews with six PKH facilitators and four beneficiary representatives, participant observation of Family Capacity-Building Meetings (P2K2), and analysis of program documents. Thematic analysis identified three interrelated mechanisms. First, religious rituals transformed P2K2 into relational spaces that fostered solidarity, mutual trust, and bonding social capital. Second, values such as *amanah*, *syukur*, and *ikhlas* provided an ethical vocabulary for interpreting and managing assistance. Third, religious coping supported psychological resilience when combined with practical agency, although deferring coping could normalize hardship and inhibit demands for institutional change. Religious mediation was therefore ambivalent: it humanized bureaucratic encounters while potentially reinforcing power asymmetries, moralizing poverty, and excluding beneficiaries outside the dominant faith. The study advances faith-sensitive social policy as a voluntary, plural, rights-based, and accountable mode of implementation rather than religious incorporation into welfare conditionality, while preserving universal access and nondiscrimination across belief systems.

Keywords: faith-sensitive social policy, religious social capital, moral mediation, conditional cash transfer, religious coping, welfare governance, Indonesia

Introduction

Multidimensional poverty remains a significant and persistent challenge in contemporary social welfare policy, where purely economic interventions often prove insufficient to address the moral, social, and spiritual dimensions of deprivation (Díaz et al. 2022; Pomati & Nandy 2020; Rahman et al. 2023; Wang, Xiao, & Liu 2023). In Indonesia, this challenge is exemplified by the PKH (meaning Family Hope Program), a conditional cash transfer (CCT) initiative launched in 2007 as part of the government's comprehensive strategy to alleviate poverty through targeted financial support linked to educational, health, and social welfare outcomes (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia 2021). However, the effectiveness of this program extends beyond its administrative and technocratic framework, being profoundly influenced by the social and religious value systems embedded within local communities. In particular, in areas such as Cilacap Regency in Central Java—where religiosity is a fundamental aspect of daily social life—religion serves not only as a source of spiritual meaning but also as a wellspring of moral motivation and social cohesion,

thereby reinforcing the legitimacy and sustainability of social policy implementation (Pavić 2021; Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017; Rahman et al. 2023).

Contemporary global scholarship has increasingly emphasized the interconnection between religion, public morality, and social policy. Research by Jacinto et al., (2023) Clarke & Orme (2021), Tomalin, (2018, 2021), Dupont, (2022), Kate et al. (2021), Ager et al., (2019), and Bielefeld & Cleveland (2013) collectively highlights the importance of a faith-sensitive approach to social policy. This emerging framework of welfare governance recognizes religion as a critical source of moral legitimacy and social capital within contemporary policy environments. In the context of the Global South, particularly in countries with strong religious and communal foundations such as Indonesia, religion transcends the private sphere to function as a social mechanism that enhances public trust in governmental institutions and mediates interactions between bureaucratic entities and citizens (Gonzaga & Pratama, n.d.; Rachmawati et al. 2022; Sealy & Modood 2022). Despite this, there remains a paucity of empirical research investigating the specific ways in which religious values influence the localized implementation of national social protection initiatives. The present study aims to fill this gap by exploring the role of religion as both a moral and social force in the execution of the PKH in Cilacap, Indonesia.

The primary aim of this study is to examine religion as religious social capital and as a mechanism of moral mediation in the implementation of PKH. Moral mediation is defined here as the translation of formal program rules into locally intelligible ethical language; it differs from hegemony because legitimate mediation must remain voluntary, dialogical, and open to contestation. The study does not presume that religious discourse is inherently benign. Facilitators are street-level state agents with authority over information, meetings, and compliance, so that religious language may humanize bureaucratic encounters. Still, it may also discipline beneficiaries, naturalize unequal power, or discourage criticism. This ambivalence is treated as an empirical and normative boundary of faith-sensitive governance.

This research contributes to theoretical discussions by synthesizing Émile Durkheim's classical understanding of religion as a system of social integration, Max Weber's concept of religious ethics and value rationality (Launay 2022), and Kenneth Pargament's theory of religious coping (Gemar 2022), alongside the notion of religious social capital as articulated by Putnam and Iannaccone. By integrating insights from the sociology of religion and social welfare theory, this study aims to elucidate the interplay among religious practices, moral values, and social structures in influencing the efficacy of public policy. This comprehensive approach advances our understanding of how religiosity shapes collective behavior within the context of community-based social policy.

This research used a qualitative case-study design in Majenang, Cipari, Sidareja, and Wanareja, four subdistricts selected as information-rich sites of PKH implementation. Participants were selected through criterion-based purposive recruitment, a qualitative strategy rather than probability sampling. The dataset comprised ten key participants: six PKH facilitators (PD1-PD6) and four representatives of beneficiary families (PM1-PM4). Accordingly, sampling error, population estimates, and percentages are neither applicable nor claimed; the analytical goal is depth and contextual explanation. Data were generated through in-depth interviews, participant observation during P2K2 sessions, and review of the 2020 PKH graduation technical guidance, the 2021 PKH implementation guideline, aggregate district beneficiary and facilitator data, P2K2 learning materials, meeting records, and field documentation. Interview and observation notes were coded thematically through iterative comparison across participant groups and sites. Codes

were organized around social cohesion, moral rationality, religious coping, power, and inclusion, and were interpreted using the study's theoretical framework. Participant identifiers are anonymized. Because the case primarily captures Muslim practices and does not constitute a representative survey, the findings are analytically transferable only to comparable contexts.

Literatur review

The interplay between religion and social policy has emerged as a pivotal area of inquiry within the contemporary sociology of religion (Aminullah 2020; Qodir 2013). Since the early 2000s, scholarly discussions concerning the relationship between religion and the state have increasingly emphasized that social policy operates not solely within the rational-legal and bureaucratic structures of government, but also within the moral and cultural dimensions of society (Dupont 2022; Jacinto et al. 2023; Tomalin 2018; 2021). This perspective, often referred to as faith-sensitive social policy, underscores the importance of recognizing religion and spirituality as foundational sources of moral values, social solidarity, and legitimacy in the governance of welfare (Tomalin 2021). Empirical research indicates that integrating religious values into welfare provision can enhance citizen engagement, bolster public trust in governmental institutions, and foster ethical relationships between public authorities and religious communities (Ager et al. 2019a; Dupont 2022; Kate et al. 2021; Rachmawati et al. 2022). Nevertheless, within the Southeast Asian context, scholarly investigations into the implementation of faith-sensitive welfare policies remain scarce. In this regard, Indonesia—with its pronounced religiosity and comprehensive welfare system—constitutes a significant case study that contributes meaningfully to the global discourse on the nexus between religion and social policy.

From a theoretical perspective, one of the seminal frameworks regarding the social function of religion originates from Émile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Durkheim (1912) conceptualizes religion not solely as a spiritual phenomenon but as a symbolic system that structures collective life and cultivates collective consciousness (Kronsted 2025; Moore 2015). Through shared rituals and beliefs, religion may maintain social order and enhance communal solidarity. Within social policy, a Durkheimian approach clarifies how religious practices and symbols can unite individuals within a shared moral framework (Horgan 2024), especially among structurally marginalized populations. This integrative capacity must nevertheless be distinguished from coercive conformity: solidarity becomes exclusionary when one tradition is treated as a condition of equal access to public welfare (Green, Barton, & Johns 2012).

Max Weber's theoretical framework further elucidates the interplay between religious ethics and social rationality (Weber & Parsons 2010). He posits that religious values significantly influence economic and social behavior, with value-oriented action (*Wertrationalität*) serving as a foundational element in cultivating work ethics, responsibility, and social discipline (Erden 2019; Kollár 2021). Within social policy initiatives such as the PKH, religious ethics foster moral consciousness among beneficiaries, thereby promoting the responsible and productive use of financial aid. Through the internalization of values such as *amanah* (trustworthiness), *syukur* (gratitude), and *ikhlas* (sincerity), economically disadvantaged families transition from passive recipients of government support to active moral agents in managing their own welfare. Consequently, the Weberian perspective broadens the conceptualization of spirituality as a form of moral rationality that enhances both the efficacy and ethical foundation of public policy.

Further substantiating this psychological dimension, subsequent investigations by Pargament and colleagues (Fabricatore et al. 2004; Pargament, Feuille, & Burdzy 2011; Imran &

Leng 2025; S et al. 2025) highlight that positive religious coping-manifested through practices such as prayer, spiritual meaning-making, and active submission to divine will-significantly contributes to psychological well-being and social resilience (Imran & Leng 2025; Rozaki & Izudin 2025). In contrast, deferring religious coping may produce ambivalent outcomes regarding social engagement, providing emotional solace while potentially diminishing proactive involvement (Graça & Brandão, 2024; Muslih & Nashori, 2024; Pargament et al., 2011; Park et al., 2018; Skalski-Bednarz et al., 2022; Utami, 2012). Within the specific context of low-income beneficiaries of the PKH in Cilacap, this theoretical framework elucidates how communal religious activities-such as collective prayer, *pengajian* (religious study groups), and motivational sessions conducted during the *Pertemuan Peningkatan Kemampuan Keluarga* (P2K2) -P2K2 meeting- serve as mechanisms for emotional healing and spiritual solidarity. Thus, spirituality functions not only as a source of individual tranquility but also as a catalyst for fostering collective resilience at the community level.

The concept of religious social capital provides a contemporary theoretical framework for understanding religion as a form of social resource. Participation in religious activities fosters networks of trust, norms of solidarity, and social support, thereby enhancing community cohesion (Pickel & Gladkich 2012). Religious social capital can be categorized into two main types: bonding capital, which strengthens intra-group relationships within religious communities, and bridging capital, which facilitates connections with external entities such as governmental institutions and social agencies. In the context of the PKH, religious practices integrated into mentoring sessions serve as bonding mechanisms that promote horizontal cooperation among beneficiary families, while also acting as bridging mechanisms that connect spiritual values with the bureaucratic rationality characteristic of state welfare programs. Thus, religion functions as a cultural conduit that unites communal morality and public policy within a shared framework of social trust (Bunn & Wood 2012).

Collectively, these theoretical perspectives guide the present study in examining the role of religious values within social facilitation practices-specifically, how facilitators interpret and articulate faith-based ethics in the realm of public policy, and how beneficiary families internalize assistance as both a spiritual and social experience. This theoretical framework not only enables the documentation of the administrative efficacy of PKH but also elucidates how religion functions as a source of moral and social vitality, fostering resilience, solidarity, and collective morality within economically disadvantaged Indonesian communities.

Results and Discussion

The results of this research build upon Émile Durkheim's conceptualization of religion as a mechanism for social cohesion, Max Weber's analysis of religious ethics and value-rational action, and Kenneth Pargament's framework of religious coping. These theoretical perspectives are further integrated with the concept of religious social capital, as articulated by Putnam and Iannaccone, thereby providing an interpretive framework to understand religion's dual role as both a source of moral motivation and a social network that supports welfare initiatives. Through this integrative theoretical approach, the study examines how religious values embedded within a conditional cash transfer program influence individual behavior while simultaneously fostering collective solidarity and conferring moral legitimacy on social policy implementation.

Consequently, the findings are organized around three interconnected dimensions: (1) religion as a social cohesive force-highlighting how religious values and rituals within the PKH enhance social solidarity and collective consciousness among economically disadvantaged

populations; (2) religious ethics and moral rationality-examining how ethical reasoning grounded in religious principles guides beneficiaries' behavior in managing aid and complying with program requirements; and (3) religiosity as a social coping mechanism-evaluating how faith-based practices function as adaptive strategies in response to economic adversity and social marginalization.

Religion as Social Adhesive in the Implementation of PKH

The implementation of the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program through PKH in Cilacap Regency highlights religion's role in interactions between beneficiary families (KPM) and social assistants. Data from the Cilacap District Social Affairs Office (2022) indicate 94,449 beneficiary families across 24 subdistricts and approximately 273 facilitators, each overseeing roughly 200–500 families (LG 2022). These figures describe the administrative setting rather than the qualitative sample. The observed and interviewed cases predominantly reflected Muslim practices; non-Muslim beneficiaries were not sufficiently represented to support comparative claims. In a universal public program, engagement must therefore begin from beneficiaries' own beliefs or nonreligious ethical language, make prayer or spiritual reflection optional, provide equivalent secular participation, and prohibit any effect on eligibility, benefits, or assessment. This boundary is essential to prevent faith sensitivity from becoming religious majoritarianism.

Within these interactions, facilitators' roles extend far beyond mere administrative duties. Their engagement often encompasses moral and spiritual dimensions that are deeply embedded in the daily lives of Cilacap's predominantly religious communities. As one facilitator articulated:

“Our responsibility is not only to ensure that aid is received but also to guarantee that funds are allocated to essential needs such as children’s education and health. Occasionally, we must provide guidance to prevent the misuse of funds. When we communicate this advice gently, using religious language, recipients tend to be more receptive.” (PD1, 2022)

This account illustrates how facilitators integrate religious discourse into their social interactions, thereby transforming what might otherwise be a purely bureaucratic exchange into a moral dialogue rooted in shared faith-based values. The interview findings reveal that facilitators, in fulfilling their roles, do not solely focus on ensuring the accurate disbursement of financial aid to designated beneficiaries. They also actively promote the responsible use of cash transfers, thereby enhancing the overall well-being of recipient families. This approach aligns with the official responsibilities of PKH facilitators, who are required to conduct monthly family mentoring sessions aimed at supporting families in achieving greater self-sufficiency and ultimately overcoming poverty (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia 2021).

Furthermore, facilitators' accounts emphasize incorporating religious values to foster social interaction between facilitators and beneficiaries. Field observations during P2K2 meeting sessions in Majenang District revealed that these meetings often began with collective prayers or brief religious reflections led by facilitators. Expressions such as *“May this meeting bring blessings and benefits to our families”* (PD2, 2022) were frequently used, demonstrating the integration of faith-based discourse within program activities.

In several instances, facilitators intentionally utilized existing religious assemblies-such as local women's group meetings (Fatayat and Muslimat), *tahlilan* (collective recitations and prayers for the deceased), and *pengajian* (religious study sessions) -as platforms for conducting P2K2 sessions. These gatherings served as informal yet effective venues for disseminating program content, particularly regarding family resource management and the prudent use of assistance

funds (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia 2020). Notably, although the Ministry of Social Affairs does not formally mandate these practices, they have organically emerged as a reflection of the community's deeply rooted religious culture.

Throughout the facilitation process, the atmosphere in each meeting was consistently vibrant and open, reflecting the beneficiaries' emotional engagement. As one facilitator noted, *"In nearly every meeting, we begin with a collective prayer. Afterward, we often share stories or personal experiences—sometimes about family challenges, such as children's reluctance to attend school or economic hardships"* (PD1, 2022). Within these recurring assemblies, religion functions as a vital mechanism for fostering social cohesion. Religious values such as *sabr* (patience), *syukur* (gratitude), and *amanah* (trustworthiness) often underpin the moral foundation of solidarity, serving as ethical reminders for participants to uphold their responsibilities. Field observations conducted in the Sidareja and Majenang subdistricts revealed that facilitators frequently invoke religious principles to encourage moral accountability in managing assistance funds. For example, one facilitator emphasized, *"This aid constitutes part of the sustenance (rizki) granted by Allah; therefore, it should be used responsibly—avoiding wastefulness or indulgence"* (PD4, 2022). These remarks illustrate how facilitators use religion as a moral framework that bridges formal state policies and local ethical norms. The incorporation of religious discourse transforms programmatic directives into culturally meaningful guidance, allowing policy to be internalized as an integral part of the community's moral order.

Moreover, several facilitators reported that integrating religious values into meetings tended to enhance social discipline. A facilitator from Majenang observed, *"When we begin the session with prayer, participants demonstrate greater focus and respect. The environment becomes more composed; they approach the meeting with seriousness, perceiving it as an act of worship"* (PD1, 2025). These findings suggest that faith-based practices within the PKH extend beyond symbolic gestures, serving as regulatory mechanisms that reinforce collective responsibility, moral order, and respect for public welfare initiatives through the shared language of religion.

The results suggest that religion functions as a mechanism of social regulation, contributing to the preservation of order and collective consciousness within the community. In contexts where beneficiaries of PKH typically have limited educational attainment and face economic instability, religious values serve as a moral framework that compensates for the shortcomings of bureaucratic procedures. In this regard, religion provides moral legitimacy to state policies, facilitating mediation between governmental authority and public trust.

Beyond its ethical dimension, religion also catalyzes trust among members of the PKH community. Ethnographic observations conducted in Sidareja District revealed that many beneficiaries voluntarily assisted peers facing difficulties with administrative processes, exchanged information regarding program requirements, and even extended financial support to fellow participants in need. One beneficiary stated, *"We are accustomed to helping one another; this too is part of the sustenance (rizki) granted by Allah. I believe that when we help others, God will reward us in return"* (PD4, 2022). These manifestations of mutual aid illustrate that religious motivation constitutes a form of social capital, promoting horizontal cooperation among PKH participants. This finding aligns with Putnam's (2000) concept of bonding social capital, wherein shared moral values reinforce supportive social networks at the community level.

This interpretation requires caution. Shared religious language does not erase the structural asymmetry between facilitators and beneficiaries. Because facilitators communicate program rules and monitor compliance, beneficiaries' visible agreement may reflect trust, strategic

accommodation, or fear of being judged rather than free endorsement. Faith-sensitive practice therefore requires consent, space for disagreement, a secular alternative, and an accessible complaints mechanism. Without these safeguards, moral mediation can become hegemonic discipline in which poverty is individualized as a deficit of gratitude, patience, or piety.

Moreover, integrating religious practices into PKH meetings helps mitigate hierarchical power dynamics between facilitators and beneficiaries. Although facilitators structurally hold positions of authority as state representatives, incorporating religious discourse makes these relationships more participatory and egalitarian. Facilitators assume dual roles, encompassing administrative duties as well as moral responsibilities as educators and spiritual guides who engage with low-income families with empathy and ethical sensitivity. A facilitator from Cipari remarked, *“We often tell the mothers that this financial aid is not only from the government but also part of God’s sustenance. Therefore, it must be used responsibly. When I explain it this way, they usually nod in agreement and become more careful”* (PD6, 2022). This statement exemplifies a form of moral mediation between state policy and religious values. Through such discourse, the state is presented in a more humanized and spiritual manner, while religion provides a foundation of public morality that enhances the legitimacy and ethical credibility of social welfare initiatives.

The findings outlined above indicate that religion plays a crucial role as a social adhesive in the implementation of PKH in Cilacap Regency, enhancing solidarity and collective consciousness among beneficiaries and facilitators. Ritualized activities, including communal prayers, brief religious discourses (*tausiyah*), and P2K2 meetings, create spaces that foster emotional and moral connections among participants. Consistent with Émile Durkheim’s theoretical framework, religion functions not merely as a belief system but as a social mechanism that maintains order and integration through collective consciousness. These religious practices generate what Kronsted (2025) describes as collective effervescence—a shared emotional energy that strengthens moral awareness and group identity.

In contexts marked by poverty, where educational opportunities and economic stability are limited, religious rituals serve as an alternative to formal bureaucratic control by fostering a sense of belonging and shared moral responsibility rooted in spirituality. As noted by Watson-Jones & Legare (2016), prayer and ritual gatherings effectively promote social cohesion and regulate collective behavior beyond the reach of administrative directives alone.

Moreover, within the PKH framework, religion reinforces horizontal solidarity and social trust, which are fundamental components of social capital in marginalized communities. Ethical values such as *amanah* (trustworthiness), *syukur* (gratitude), and *ikhlas* (sincerity) form the moral foundation guiding interactions among beneficiaries, thereby fostering responsibility and mutual support. This dynamic aligns with Putnam’s concept of religious social capital, wherein shared moral norms and trust enhance social networks and cooperative behavior, particularly through bonding social capital (Gemar 2022).

Consequently, facilitators and beneficiaries are interconnected not only through formal programmatic structures but also through a shared belief that social assistance represents *“rizki dari Allah”*—a divine provision to be managed with moral integrity. This moral integration fosters empathy, discipline, and ethical accountability. According to Bielefeld & Cleveland (2013), religious values in this context serve as a form of moral mediation between state policy and community life, positioning religion as a source of social legitimacy and collective harmony.

Thus, religion transcends a merely complementary role to social policy, emerging as an integrative pillar that sustains connectedness, trust, and moral responsibility among citizens. It

provides the ethical framework through which community-based welfare initiatives, such as PKH, derive meaning, legitimacy, and sustainability.

Religious Ethics and Moral Rationality in the Administration of Social Assistance

Empirical data from the implementation of the Conditional Cash Transfer program (Program Keluarga Harapan) in Cilacap Regency reveal that religious ethical values deeply influence social practices. Social facilitators often invoke moral and spiritual principles as foundational guidelines to prevent the misuse of aid, especially in areas where religious culture is strongly rooted. As one facilitator from Majenang explained, *“When we communicate using religious language-reminding beneficiaries to be grateful and responsible with the assistance-they understand better. This aid is not merely money; it is a test of responsibility”* (PD2, 2022).

These observations suggest that the governance of social assistance extends beyond mere administrative compliance, being fundamentally rooted in the moral and spiritual awareness derived from the indigenous religious wisdom of Cilacap’s communities. Field observations of P2K2 meeting sessions indicate that facilitators typically begin meetings with collective prayers, expressions of gratitude, and exhortations to embody *amanah* (trustworthiness) and *syukur* (thankfulness). Discussions on the prudent allocation of assistance funds and effective household financial management then follow these spiritual invocations.

In addition to reinforcing ethical conduct, these religiously framed forums serve as sites of social dialogue that mediate between the rational imperatives of state policy and the moral frameworks of local communities (Green, Barton, & Johns 2012; Kim 2024). A beneficiary from Sidareja remarked, *“When reminded religiously, we tend to reflect on our actions. We even feel guilty if the money is used for purposes beyond its intended use”* (PM2, 2022). This testimony suggests that religious norms function as a more effective mechanism of self-regulation than formal administrative directives (Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017; Tomalin 2018).

These findings support the arguments of Jacinto et al. (2023), Jakimow, Dewi, & Siahaan (2019), and Rachmawati et al. (2022), who assert that religious ethics within Indonesian welfare practices often function as an ethics of care-promoting empathy, accountability, and mutual moral responsibility among impoverished populations. In everyday practice, values such as *amanah* (trustworthiness), *ikhlas* (sincerity), and *sabar* (patience) go beyond mere spiritual guidance (PD2, 2022); they form a social logic that governs economic behavior among beneficiary households. These ethical orientations ensure the purposeful use of aid, reduce social envy, and embed the program within a culturally resonant framework of moral responsibility.

Fieldwork and document analysis conducted in four subdistricts-Majenang, Cipari, Sidareja, and Wanareja-indicate that the majority of beneficiaries of PKH perceive the cash transfers not merely as financial assistance but as a manifestation of divine trust accompanied by moral obligations. One beneficiary from Sidareja expressed this perspective as follows:

“I usually allocate a small portion of the aid for charitable purposes so that the income from PKH brings blessings. As a gesture of gratitude, I sometimes share snacks with other beneficiaries or even with the facilitator during our regular meetings.” (PM4, 2022)

This attitude exemplifies faith-based moral reasoning, wherein economic behaviors-such as expenditure, saving, and consumption-are guided by religious beliefs. As noted by Krubiner & Merritt (2017), ethical dilemmas associated with conditional cash transfer programs are often navigated through moral values deeply embedded within local communities (Krubiner & Merritt

2017; Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017). In the context of Cilacap, religious norms serve as an ethical lens through which household economic decisions are made, transforming the program's utilitarian framework into a moral economy centered on responsibility and gratitude (Jakimow, Dewi, & Siahaan 2019a; Rachmawati et al. 2022; Scheel, Scheel, & Fretheim 2020).

Nonetheless, the findings reveal an ongoing tension between moral ideals and economic exigencies. Many beneficiaries acknowledged reallocating portions of their educational or health subsidies to address immediate needs, such as purchasing rice, paying for electricity, or obtaining medicine. One respondent from Sidamulya candidly remarked, *"Sometimes I use the school allowance to pay off debts first; after the harvest, I repay it"* (PD2, 2022). Although such practices are often viewed as administrative infractions, they may instead represent a form of moral rationality grounded in ethical pragmatism and survival imperatives.

As Fehr, Fink, & Jack (2022) argue, economically disadvantaged households operate under conditions of financial scarcity that necessitate the development of context-specific rationalities—decision-making processes shaped by urgent needs and local moral frameworks (de Bruijn & Antonides 2022; Vlaev 2018). From this perspective, the management of PKH funds in Cilacap should not be simplistically interpreted as rule-breaking; rather, it constitutes an ethical strategy aimed at reconciling spiritual responsibility, material necessity, and the structural demands imposed by state welfare programs.

Conversely, the role of social facilitators can be understood as that of moral intermediaries who bridge the technocratic rationality of state policy and the local moral frameworks of marginalized communities. As expressed by a facilitator from Cipari District, *"It is easier to approach mothers using religious language rather than program regulations. When we say that this is a responsibility before God, they understand more easily"* (PD3, 2025). This perspective reflects a shift in the facilitator's role—from a conventional field bureaucrat to a moral educator—highlighting that the success of social policy often depends on the ability of local actors to integrate ethical values into public administration (Lotta & Marques 2020; Zacka 2019). Engagement grounded in faith-based ethics also enhances interpersonal trust among beneficiaries, fostering horizontal social solidarity through shared experiences and collective spirituality.

The evidence indicates that local religious ethics function as a pragmatic moral economy, serving as a social mechanism that negotiates tensions between state rationality and community needs (Götz 2015; Miller 2023). Within the context of PKH, religion confers moral legitimacy upon state welfare initiatives while simultaneously acting as a subtle form of resistance to rigid bureaucratic logic. Beneficiaries do not outright reject the state's rationality; rather, they reinterpret and adapt it within the moral framework of their communities.

This dynamic aligns with the concept of faith-sensitive social policy, in which religious values function as social instruments that enhance policy effectiveness through ethical adaptation at the grassroots level (Ager et al. 2019b; Jacinto et al. 2023; Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017). Accordingly, the administration of social assistance in Cilacap exemplifies a dual rationality: the coexistence and interaction of the state's technocratic rationality with the community's moral rationality. The interplay between these two logics generates social practices that are more adaptive, ethically grounded, and sustainable within the broader context of community-based welfare governance.

Religious Coping and Psychological Resilience among PKH Beneficiaries

The religious dimension serves not only as a source of moral order and social cohesion but also as a fundamental basis for psychological resilience among Keluarga Penerima Manfaat (KPM), or beneficiary families, in navigating life's challenges (Fabricatore et al. 2004; S et al. 2025). Many participants identified faith, prayer, and religious observance as primary strategies for maintaining mental fortitude amid economic adversity and uncertainty about the future. For example, a beneficiary from Majenang remarked, *"When circumstances are difficult, I often engage in night prayers or recite istighfar (seeking forgiveness). Sometimes the assistance has not yet been disbursed, but prayer brings calm to my heart. God will surely provide a way"* (PM4, 2022). This testimony underscores the role of religious coping as an adaptive mechanism that facilitates stress management and mitigates social uncertainty (Imran & Leng 2025; S et al. 2025). Such perspectives align with Pargament's theoretical framework, which posits that positive religious coping—manifested through prayer, spiritual meaning-making, and active surrender to the divine—enhances psychological well-being and imbues suffering with meaningful significance.

Observations conducted during several P2K2 meeting sessions revealed that facilitators frequently employed religious motivation to support participants experiencing distress. For instance, during a session in Cipari District, a facilitator encouraged attendees by stating, *"We are all tested. However, these trials can strengthen us if we confront them with patience and gratitude"* (PD3, 2022). This discourse exemplifies the practice of spiritual reframing, wherein economic hardship is reinterpreted as a moral trial imbued with spiritual significance. This finding aligns with the work of Pargament, Smith, & Koenig (2011), who emphasize that religious reframing plays a pivotal role in transforming stress into personal growth and resilience, a process often conceptualized as post-traumatic growth (Rogers 2024). Within the context of Cilacap, religious coping functions not only at the individual level but also within communal settings. Collective prayers, *pengajian* (religious study gatherings), and socio-religious activities constitute shared spaces where participants exchange experiences of hardship and reinforce spiritual solidarity (Okan et al. 2025; Włodarczyk et al. 2016).

Empirical evidence suggests that many beneficiaries interpret their acceptance of economic constraints through the intertwined values of *tawakal* (trustful submission to God) and *ikhtiar* (earnest effort). For example, a housewife from Sidareja stated, *"When the aid has not yet arrived, we still try to sell fried snacks. But we see it as a test from Allah. If we are patient, He will give us something better in return"* (PM1, 2022). This response exemplifies a form of faith-based optimism, where spirituality acts as a mediating factor that alleviates feelings of powerlessness amid socioeconomic challenges. Such religious frameworks do not simply encourage passive resignation; rather, they provide a meaning-making structure that enhances psychological resilience and reduces emotional distress (Krok, Szcześniak, & Zarzycka 2024; Wnuk 2024). Within the context of the PKH, religiosity enables impoverished families to interpret delayed assistance, poverty, and social stigma as components of a moral learning process that strengthens their spiritual identity and sense of purpose.

Furthermore, documentation from P2K2 sessions conducted across various districts highlights the evolving role of facilitators as agents of emotional healing through faith-based approaches. In one session held in Majenang, a facilitator invited participants to collectively recite a prayer and reflect on life's blessings before commencing discussions on financial management. Subsequently, several participants reported experiencing a sense of relief and tranquility. One participant remarked, *"I feel stronger now. Even though life is difficult, I am not alone. God sees our struggles"*

(PM2, 2022). These accounts illustrate that PKH mentoring sessions function not solely as administrative forums but also as venues for spiritual counseling, where emotional healing, social cohesion, and collective mental well-being are enhanced through shared religious practices and moral reflection.

Religious coping within the PKH exhibits a multifaceted and complex nature. Several beneficiaries have demonstrated a tendency toward deferring religious coping, as noted by Fabricatore et al. (2004) and S et al. (2025). This form of coping is characterized by complete submission to divine will without efforts to change one's circumstances. For example, during an interview conducted in Wanareja District, a participant stated, *"We can only surrender; if God grants us sustenance through PKH, we accept it. If not, we must be patient"* (PM2, 2022). Although this coping strategy provides emotional solace and spiritual tranquility, it may inadvertently undermine economic initiative and reduce active participation in empowerment activities. As highlighted by Park et al. (2018) and Talik & Skowroński (2018), deferring coping produces ambivalent outcomes: while it can alleviate anxiety and promote acceptance, it may simultaneously diminish self-efficacy and social agency.

In the context of Cilacap, program facilitators strive to counteract passive tendencies by promoting collaborative religious coping—a strategy that combines prayer and faith with proactive engagement in livelihood activities. Facilitators often encourage beneficiaries to integrate spiritual devotion with practical actions, such as prudent financial management, launching micro-enterprises, or saving a portion of the assistance received. As one facilitator in Majenang explained, *"We often say: prayer is essential, but working hard is also a form of worship. God loves those who strive"* (PM2, 2022). This perspective redefines religiosity as an active catalyst that fosters self-reliance and moral accountability, rather than passive resignation.

Faith-Sensitive Governance: The Dialectic between State Policy and Religious Values

The implementation of PKH in Cilacap Regency exemplifies the complex interplay between the secular rationale underpinning state welfare policies and the deeply ingrained religious values within the local community. In this context, facilitators, beneficiaries, and local officials serve not merely as policy executors but as ethical intermediaries who navigate and reconcile two distinct systems of meaning: the bureaucratic rationality characteristic of the state apparatus and the moral framework rooted in local religiosity. As one facilitator from Majenang explained, *"The rules from the central government are clear, but in the field, we have to adjust to the community's conditions. If we apply them too rigidly, people reject them. So, we combine them with religious advice so they can understand"* (PD2, 2022).

This observation highlights a process of localized moral translation, whereby ostensibly secular public policies are reinterpreted through religious discourse to secure social legitimacy and emotional resonance among community members (Kim 2024; Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017; Sealy & Modood 2022). It underscores the notion that grassroots governance is never purely technocratic. In Cilacap, the PKH program serves as a site where state rationality and religious ethics intersect and mutually reinforce one another. The administrative imperatives of efficiency and verification are intertwined with spiritual values such as *amanah* (trustworthiness), *ikhlas* (sincerity), and *syukur* (gratitude).

The P2K2 mentoring forums exemplify this synthesis by aiming not only to enhance economic capabilities but also to cultivate spiritual awareness and moral responsibility concerning public resources. As a beneficiary from Sidareja noted, *"The facilitator often says that PKH money is not only from the government but a blessing from God channeled through the government, so we must protect this trust"*

(PM2, 2022). Such practices illustrate faith-sensitive governance, a form of social administration that leverages religious values as a moral foundation to legitimize state welfare initiatives (Tomalin 2018; 2021).

From a sociological perspective, the interplay between social policy and religiosity in Cilacap can be examined through the concept of hybrid governance—a form of social regulation in which secular authority and religious morality intersect to create a “*hybrid policy space*” Within this framework, religion serves a dual function: first, as a source of (Tomalin 2018; 2021). Social capital that fosters trust and compliance with government policies; and second, as moral capital that nurtures a sense of responsibility and discipline in implementing welfare initiatives. Facilitators of PKH thus act as moral intermediaries, bridging the normative gap between state directives and community ethical standards. This hybrid governance model demonstrates how collaboration between formal bureaucratic institutions and informal moral frameworks can enhance citizen engagement, promote a sense of ownership over social policies, and strengthen their legitimacy at the grassroots level.

However, this dynamic relationship between religion and the state also generates ambivalence. Several facilitators have noted that an excessive emphasis on religiosity may obscure the program’s rational objectives (Pavolini, Béland, & Jawad 2017; Tomalin 2021). Moral exhortations such as “be grateful and patient” can unintentionally promote passivity among beneficiaries, thereby impeding structural or behavioral change. As one facilitator from Sidareja observed, “*Sometimes the mothers become too resigned; they rely on prayer and feel content, whereas we want them to be proactive in finding solutions*” (PD2, 2022). This tension reflects a broader global trend in faith-based welfare programs, where religiosity often contributes to social stability but does not necessarily foster substantive economic transformation (Bielefeld & Cleveland 2013; Scheel, Scheel, & Fretheim 2020; Tomalin 2018). In the context of Cilacap, this challenge underscores the need for welfare program designs that are not only sensitive to spiritual concerns but also critically responsive to underlying structural inequalities.

Despite its inherent complexities, the influence of religion in enhancing the social legitimacy of welfare programs remains unequivocal. Facilitators who incorporate faith-based methodologies tend to encourage greater participant engagement, improved adherence to administrative protocols, and more profound empathic communication (Jacinto et al. 2023; Tomalin 2018). Religion functions as a moral lingua franca that bridges the gap between bureaucratic governance and marginalized populations. From the perspective of the sociology of religion, this interaction aligns with Durkheim’s proposition that religion constitutes the moral foundation of collective life, thereby maintaining social order through a shared ethical consciousness (Durkheim 2014; Horgan 2024; Launay 2022). In this context, the development of faith-sensitive governance within the PKH exemplifies a form of spiritual soft power—a moral force that promotes inclusive, community-based governance.

This phenomenon represents a paradigmatic shift in social policy scholarship, moving from a state-centric welfare model toward one characterized by moralized welfare governance (Tomalin 2021). In this context, religious values are not merely superficial cultural adornments but integral elements that shape the very ethos of welfare provision. Empirical evidence from Cilacap highlights the importance of implementing a faith-sensitive policy framework (Ager et al. 2019b; Tomalin 2018), in which the state acknowledges the moral agency of religious communities without exploiting faith for political purposes. Ultimately, the dialectical relationship between secular policy frameworks and local religiosity within PKH exemplifies a more humanized

approach to social governance—one that harmonizes bureaucratic efficiency with spiritual empathy and integrates administrative rationality with public morality. This model offers critical insights for the formulation of culturally grounded social policies throughout the Global South.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that PKH implementation in Cilacap constitutes a social arena in which administrative rationality, communal ethics, and religious meanings are continuously negotiated. The qualitative design does not permit causal claims regarding improvements in household prosperity or reductions in district-level poverty. Although the number of people living in poverty in Cilacap changed from 198,600 in 2020 to 201,710 in 2021 and 190,960 in 2022 (Statistics Indonesia Cilacap Regency 2023), these aggregate trends cannot be attributed to PKH. The principal contribution of this study lies instead in identifying the relational mechanisms through which religious meanings shape policy implementation by strengthening solidarity, informing moral reasoning, and supporting coping, while simultaneously generating risks of coercion, exclusion, and the depoliticization of poverty.

Empirically, the findings reveal three interconnected mechanisms. First, P2K2 meetings function as ritualized spaces that cultivate solidarity and bonding social capital among beneficiaries and facilitators, although they do not necessarily establish bridging relationships with local economic elites or other resource-holding groups. Second, religious values such as *amanah* (trustworthiness), *syukur* (gratitude), and *ikhtiar* (effort) provide beneficiaries with an ethical vocabulary for interpreting and managing social assistance. However, these values become problematic when structural poverty is reframed as a matter of individual morality or insufficient religious commitment. Third, religious coping can strengthen psychological resilience when faith is combined with practical action, whereas deferring coping may normalize deprivation, encourage passive acceptance, and weaken beneficiaries' willingness to demand institutional change.

Theoretically, the study advances the concept of faith-sensitive social policy by locating religion within the frontline implementation of a state-administered conditional cash transfer rather than within parallel faith-based welfare provision. The Cilacap case illustrates a form of hybrid governance in which bureaucratic rules acquire cultural legitimacy through moral mediation by frontline facilitators. This pattern is institutionally distinct from religious welfare provision through madrassas in Pakistan, zakat networks across Pakistan, Egypt, and Morocco, and faith-based social assistance in Bangladesh (Mumtaz & Whiteford 2021; Gallien, Javed, & van den Boogaard 2024; Salahuddin et al. 2023). Nevertheless, these cases share a central lesson: religious networks can mobilize trust, solidarity, and material resources, but their contribution to social protection depends on whether they uphold pluralism, accountability, and nondiscrimination.

The policy implication is that faith-sensitive governance must not be equated with Islamization or the transfer of religious authority to PKH facilitators. As a universal and rights-based public program, PKH should recognize beneficiaries' religious and nonreligious worldviews without making spiritual participation a condition of eligibility, attendance, benefit receipt, or graduation. Facilitators therefore require competencies in religious literacy, pluralism, psychosocial support, power awareness, and referral, while P2K2 should provide voluntary religious reflection alongside equivalent secular formats. Informed choice, inclusive language, confidential complaints mechanisms, transparent financial documentation, and independent oversight must support these measures. Broader concerns emerging from public reports regarding misconduct in local governance contexts underscore the importance of ensuring that moral or religious rhetoric in

social programs is always matched by strong institutional integrity, accountability mechanisms, and transparent administrative procedures, rather than being treated as a substitute for them.

Ultimately, faith-sensitive social policy should be understood as a conditional and contested mode of implementation rather than an inherently effective welfare model. Its legitimacy rests on voluntary participation, equal treatment across religious identities, institutional accountability, and sustained attention to the structural determinants of poverty. These conclusions remain limited by the study's small, nonprobability sample, predominantly Muslim research setting, exclusion of non-Muslim and nonreligious beneficiaries, absence of economic elites and senior institutional actors, and lack of longitudinal welfare outcomes. Future research should compare religious and secular P2K2 formats, include minority-faith and nonreligious beneficiaries, examine institutional and elite-level power, and integrate qualitative evidence with longitudinal measures of household welfare, program participation, and poverty reduction.

Bibliography

- Ager, Wendy, Michael French, Atallah Fitzgibbon, & Alastair Ager. 2019a. "The Case For-and Challenges of-Faith-Sensitive Psychosocial Programming." *Intervention Journal of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Conflict Affected Areas* 17 (1): 69. https://doi.org/10.4103/INTV.INTV_20_18.
- . 2019b. "The Case for—and Challenges of—Faith-Sensitive Psychosocial Programming." *Intervention Journal of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Conflict Affected Areas* 17 (1): 69. https://doi.org/10.4103/INTV.INTV_20_18.
- Aminullah, Muhammad Soleh. 2020. "AGAMA DAN POLITIK: Studi Pemikiran Soekarno tentang Relasi Agama dan Negara." *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 14 (1): 53. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2020.141-03>.
- Bielefeld, Wolfgang, & William Suhs Cleveland. 2013. "Faith-Based Organizations as Service Providers and Their Relationship to Government." *Sage Journals*, ahead of print, April 21, 2013. Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764013485160>.
- BPS-Statistics Indonesia Cilacap Regency. 2023. "Poverty Line, Number, and Percentage of Poor People in Cilacap Regency, 2014–2022." <https://cilacapkab.bps.go.id/en/statistics-table/1/MTcwIzE%3D/poverty-line--number---percentage-of-poor-people-cilacap-regency--20142022.html>.
- Bruijn, Ernst-Jan de, & Gerrit Antonides. 2022. "Poverty and Economic Decision Making: A Review of Scarcity Theory." *Theory and Decision* 92 (1): 5–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11238-021-09802-7>.
- Bunn, Christopher, & Matthew Wood. 2012. "Cultured Responses: The Production of Social Capital in Faith Based Organizations." *Sage Journals*, ahead of print, March 23, 2012. Sage UK: London, England. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392111425598>.
- Díaz, Yadira, Philipp Hessel, Mauricio Avendano, & Sara Evans-Lacko. 2022. "Multidimensional Poverty and Adolescent Mental Health: Unpacking the Relationship." *Social Science & Medicine* 311 (October): 115324. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115324>.
- Dupont, Pier-Luc. 2022. "Religious Governance and the Politics of Equality in Education." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, April 4, 2022. world. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2021.1905863>.
- Durkheim, E. 2014. "The Role of Religion (1)." In *Classic and Contemporary Readings in Sociology*, 82–87. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315840154-22>.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1912. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. The Free Press.

- Erden, Özgür Olgun. 2019. "The New Religion-Based Work Ethic and Cultural Consumption Patterns of Religiously Conservative Groups in Turkey." *Religions* 10 (10): 541. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10100541>.
- Fabricatore, Anthony N., Paul J. Handal, Doris M. Rubio, & Frank H. Gilner. 2004. "RESEARCH: Stress, Religion, and Mental Health: Religious Coping in Mediating and Moderating Roles." *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, ahead of print, April 1, 2004. world. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327582ijpr1402_2.
- Fehr, Dietmar, Günther Fink, & B. Kelsey Jack. 2022. "Poor and Rational: Decision-Making under Scarcity." *Journal of Political Economy* 130 (11): 2862–97. <https://doi.org/10.1086/720466>.
- Gallien, Max, Umair Javed, & Vanessa van den Boogaard. 2024. "Zakat, Non-state Welfare Provision and Redistribution in Times of Crisis: Evidence from the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Studies in Comparative International Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-024-09447-x>.
- Gemar, Adam. 2022. "Religion and Social Capital: Examining Social Networks and Religious Identification in the UK." *Sage Journals*, ahead of print, December 30, 2022. Sage UK: London, England. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13607804221141098>.
- Gonzaga, Gretchen L., & Arif Budy Pratama. n.d. *Social Capital and Prospects for Collaborative Governance: An Ethnographic Case Study of Sama-Bajaus' Post-Disaster Experiences*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.2096>.
- Götz, Norbert. 2015. "'Moral Economy': Its Conceptual History and Analytical Prospects." *Journal of Global Ethics* 11 (2): 147–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2015.1054556>.
- Green, Alison, Adrian Barton, & Nick Johns. 2012. "Religion, Public Policy and Equalizing Opportunities." *Critical Social Policy* 32 (4): 517–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018311435029>.
- Horgan, Mervyn. 2024. "Moral Landscapes and Morally Meaningful Encounters: How Interaction Ritual Connects Conversation Analysis and Cultural Sociology." *Frontiers in Sociology* 9 (April). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2024.1251164>.
- Imran, Muzzamel Hussain, & Xin Leng. 2025. "A Critical Review on Pargament's Theory of Religious Coping: In the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Journal of Religion and Health* 64 (1): 657–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-024-02136-y>.
- Izudin, Ahmad, M. Kholili, & Khotibul Umam. 2024. "The Role of Local Cultural Heritage in Community Empowerment: The Case of Gentur Lantern in Jambudipa Village, Indonesia." *Heritage & Society* 0 (0): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2024.2366639>.
- Jacinto, Elize, Maria Clara Figueiredo Dalla Costa Ames, Maurício Custódio Serafim, & Marcello Beckert Zappellini. 2023. "Religion-Spirituality Influences in the Governance of Faith-Based Organizations during the Covid Pandemic." *Public Organization Review* 23 (2): 531–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-023-00704-6>.
- Jakimow, Tanya, Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, & Asima Yanty Siahaan. 2019a. "The Ethics of Social Care in Indonesia: Women's Perspectives on Care in Politics, Development and Policy*." *Asian Studies Review* 43 (2): 276–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1586830>.
- . 2019b. "The Ethics of Social Care in Indonesia: Women's Perspectives on Care in Politics, Development and Policy*." *Asian Studies Review*, April 3, 2019. world. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10357823.2019.1586830>.
- Kate, Laurens ten, Arjan W. Braam, Rijk van Dijk, Jette van Ravesteyn, & Fenna Bergmans. 2021. "Professional and Religious Approaches to Care for West African Victims of Human Trafficking in The Netherlands: The Challenge of New Pentecostalism." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, October 2, 2021. world. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15562948.2020.1839993>.
- Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia. 2020. *Petunjuk Teknis Graduasi Keluarga Penerima Manfaat (KPM) Program Keluarga Harapan Tahun 2020*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan dan Jaminan Sosial, Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia.

- . 2021. *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Program Keluarga Harapan Tahun 2021*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan dan Jaminan Sosial, Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia.
- Kim, Seung-Hwan. 2024. "The Public Role of Religion and the Response of Public Theology." *Religions* 15 (4): 449. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15040449>.
- Kollár, Dávid. 2021. "Max Weber and the Chemistry of the Protestant Ethic." *Sage Journals*, ahead of print, November 11, 2021. Sage UK: London, England. <https://doi.org/10.1177/05390184211052874>.
- Krok, Dariusz, Małgorzata Szcześniak, & Beata Zarzycka. 2024. "The Role of Religious Comfort and Strain on Social Well-Being among Emerging Adults in Poland: Serial Mediation by Meaning Making Processes." *Journal of Religion and Health* 63 (6): 4110–29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-024-02102-8>.
- Kronsted, Christian. 2025. "Collective Effervescence as Self-Organization and Enaction." *Journal of Social Ontology* 11 (1): 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.25365/JSO-2025-8732>.
- Krubiner, Carleigh B., & Maria W. Merritt. 2017. "Which Strings Attached: Ethical Considerations for Selecting Appropriate Conditionalities in Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes." *Journal of Medical Ethics* 43 (3): 167–76. <https://doi.org/10.1136/medethics-2016-103386>.
- Launay, Robert. 2022. "Defining Religion: Durkheim and Weber Compared." *Religions* 13 (2): 89. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13020089>.
- Lotta, Gabriela Spanghero, & Eduardo Cesar Marques. 2020. "How Social Networks Affect Policy Implementation: An Analysis of Street-level Bureaucrats' Performance Regarding a Health Policy." *Social Policy & Administration* 54 (3): 345–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12550>.
- Miller, Richard B. 2023. "The Ethics and Politics of Religious Ethics, 1973–2023." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 51 (1): 66–107. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jore.12423>.
- Mumtaz, Zahid, & Peter Whiteford. 2021. "Comparing Formal and Informal Social Protection: A Case Study Exploring the Usefulness of Informal Social Protection in Pakistan." *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 37 (3): 243–272. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279421000090>.
- Moore, Matthew D. 2015. "Religious Heterogeneity and Suicide: A Cross-National Analysis." *Sage Journals*, ahead of print, December 1, 2015. Sage UK: London, England. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768615601978>.
- Okan, Nesrullah, Yahya Şahin, Hulusi Genç, & Mehmet Demirhan. 2025. "Harnessing Spiritual Coping to Foster Resilience: Insights from Post-Trauma Mental Health after the Kahramanmaraş Earthquake." *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 12 (1): 857. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-025-05318-5>.
- Pargament, Kenneth, Margaret Feuille, & Donna Burdzy. 2011. "The Brief RCOPE: Current Psychometric Status of a Short Measure of Religious Coping." *Religions* 2 (1): 51–76. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel2010051>.
- Park, Crystal L., Cheryl L. Holt, Daisy Le, Juliette Christie, & Beverly Rosa Williams. 2018. "Positive and Negative Religious Coping Styles as Prospective Predictors of Well-Being in African Americans." *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* (US) 10 (4): 318–26. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rel0000124>.
- Pavić, Željko. 2021. "The Impact of Civic and Religious Social Capital on the Antisocial Attitudes of the Youth: A Multi-Level Cross-National Study." *Societies* 11 (3): 110. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc11030110>.
- Pavolini, Emmanuele, Daniel Béland, & Rana Jawad. 2017. "Mapping the Relationship between Religion and Social Policy." *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 33 (3): 240–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21699763.2017.1363801>.
- Pickel, Gert, & Anja Gladkich. 2012. "Religious Social Capital in Europe Connections between Religiosity and Civil Society." In *Transformations of Religiosity: Religion and Religiosity in Eastern Europe 1989 – 2010*, edited by Gert Pickel and Kornelia Sammet, 69–94. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-93326-9_5.

- Pomati, Marco, & Shailen Nandy. 2020. "Measuring Multidimensional Poverty According to National Definitions: Operationalising Target 1.2 of the Sustainable Development Goals." *Social Indicators Research* 148 (1): 105–26. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-019-02198-6>.
- Qodir, Zuly. 2013. "Discourse Kontestasi Ideologi: Reposisi Islam dan Negara di Indonesia." *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 5 (2).
- Rachmawati, Emma, Yuyun Umniyatun, Muhib Rosyidi, & Mochamad Iqbal Nurmansyah. 2022. "The Roles of Islamic Faith-Based Organizations on Countermeasures against the COVID-19 Pandemic in Indonesia." *Heliyon* 8 (2). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e08928>.
- Rahman, Muhamad Zulfadli Abdul, Mohd Syukri Zainal Abidin, Faezy Adenan, Kamaruzaman Jusoff, & Mohamed Safiullah Munsoor. 2023. "Development of Spiritual Poverty Measurements of an Urban Population Based on the Concept of Purifying the Self (Tazkiyah Al-Nafs)." *Social Indicators Research* 169 (3): 943–72. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-023-03188-5>.
- Rogers, Frank. 2024. "Spiritual Dimensions of Trauma and Posttraumatic Growth: An Ethnographic Exploration." *Religions* 15 (8): 926. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15080926>.
- Rozaki, Abdur, & Ahmad Izudin. 2025. "Peacebuilding Pesantren: The Study of Madurese Diaspora in Reinforcing Social Resilience in Post-Ethnic Conflicts West Kalimantan, Indonesia." *Ulumuna* 29 (1): 155–87. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v29i1.1432>.
- Salahuddin, Abul Fazal Md, Md Ismail Hossain, Isahaque Ali, & Azlinda Azman. 2023. "Social Assistance Programs during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Bangladesh: Does Faith-Based Approach Matter?" *Asian Social Work and Policy Review* 17 (1): 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aswp.12261>.
- S, Sanjana, Ravinder Kumar, Akriti Srivastava, & Rameshbabu Tamarana. 2025. "Religious Coping in Stress Management: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Research and Health* 15 (5): 447–58. <https://doi.org/10.32598/JRH.15.5.2617.1>.
- Scheel, Inger B, Andrea E Scheel, & Atle Fretheim. 2020. "The Moral Perils of Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes and Their Significance for Policy." *Health Policy and Planning* 35 (6): 718–34. JSTOR.
- Sealy, Thomas, & Tariq Modood. 2022. "Diversities and Dynamics in the Governance of Religion: Inter-Regional Comparative Themes." *Religion, State & Society*, August 8, 2022. world. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09637494.2022.2132079>.
- Talik, Elżbieta, & Bartłomiej Skowroński. 2018. "The Sense of Quality of Life and Religious Strategies of Coping with Stress in Prison Inmates." *Journal of Religion and Health* 57 (3): 915–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-017-0455-4>.
- Tomalin, Emma. 2018. "Religions, Poverty Reduction and Global Development Institutions." *Palgrave Communications* 4 (1): 132. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-018-0167-8>.
- . 2021. "Religions and Development: A Paradigm Shift or Business as Usual?" *Religion*, January 2, 2021. world. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0048721X.2020.1792055>.
- Vlaev, Ivo. 2018. "Local Choices: Rationality and the Contextuality of Decision-Making." *Brain Sciences* 8 (1): 8. <https://doi.org/10.3390/brainsci8010008>.
- Wang, Jinfang, Hui Xiao, & Xiaojin Liu. 2023. "The Impact of Social Capital on Multidimensional Poverty of Rural Households in China." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 20 (1): 217. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20010217>.
- Watson-Jones, Rachel E., & Cristine H. Legare. 2016. "The Social Functions of Group Rituals." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 25 (1): 42–46. JSTOR.
- Weber, Max, & Talcott Parsons. 2010. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Reprint. Routledge Classics. London: Routledge.
- Włodarczyk, Anna, Nekane Basabe, Darío Páez, Alberto Amutio, Felipe E. García, Carlos Reyes, & Loreto Villagrán. 2016. "Positive effects of communal coping in the aftermath of a

- collective trauma: The case of the 2010 Chilean earthquake.” *European Journal of Education and Psychology* 9 (1): 9–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejeps.2015.08.001>.
- Wnuk, Marcin. 2024. “The Mechanisms Underlying Religious Coping and Hopelessness: Role of Meaning in Life and Affectivity.” *Pastoral Psychology*, ahead of print, November 6, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11089-024-01181-4>.
- Zacka, Bernardo. 2019. “When the State Meets the Street: Public Service and Moral Agency.” *American Journal of Sociology* 124 (4): 1280–81. <https://doi.org/10.1086/700954>.