ON DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY: NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN MOVEMENT OF THE INSTAGRAM COMMUNITY @TOLERANSI.ID IN REALIZING RELIGIOUS MODERATION

Martinus Danang Pamungkas
Sociology Laboratory, Sriwijaya University
Jl. Raya Palembang - Prabumulih No.KM. 32, Indonesia
Email: martinusdanang01@gmail.com

Zulfikri Suleman
Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Sriwijaya University
Jl. Raya Palembang - Prabumulih No.KM. 32, Indonesia
Email: Zuleman2003@yahoo.com

Anang Dwi Santoso
PhD Student, School of Social Science, Monash University
Room S431, The Robert Menzies Building (20 Chancellors Walk (Level 4), Australia
Email: anang.santoso@monash.edu

Abstract

This study discusses the movements of the Instagram community @toleransi.id in promoting religious moderation through nonviolent campaigns amidst online religious radicalism and extremism. Instagram is used as a tool to achieve religious harmony. However, the community faces challenges such as digital repression and restrictions on the freedom of religious expression. The research method involves qualitative-descriptive content analysis. Furthermore, digital ethnography is used to holistically understand the cultural and social experiences of @toleransi.id community activities in the digital world of Instagram. Data were collected through observation and documentation of digital content published by @toleransi.id from 2019 to 2023. Data analysis involved symbol classification, determination of analysis criteria, and analysis using the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of nonviolent campaigns, networked social movements, and religious moderation. The results show that this community faces semantic and behavioral barriers due to the open autonomy space of the internet. They employ tactics such as creative and inclusive digital content, dialogue spaces, intellectual discourse, and Instagram as a campaign platform to influence public opinion and build networks. The findings contribute to the study of social movements and religious moderation by demonstrating how @toleransi.id initiated a religious moderation movement with a nonviolent campaign initiated by the internet autonomy space.

Keywords: *nonviolent campaign, networked social movement, religious moderation, @toleransi.id*

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, social media and other digital platforms have mediated the actions of nonviolent movement campaigns to orchestrate pro-democracy uprisings that have shocked ruling regimes (Cebul and Pinckney, 2022) to the point of deflecting radicalism and religious extremism discourses spread on social media (Setia and Haq, 2023). Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013) define *nonviolent resistance* as the application of unarmed civil power using nonviolent methods, such as protests, strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations, without using or threatening physical harm to opponents. Reflections on the relationship between nonviolent campaigns and the digital

world have gained momentum (Chenoweth, 2020). It is reflected in several previous studies that have made religious moderation movement campaigns on social media or other digital platforms a central issue in promoting religious moderation (Fitri, 2023; Marwantika, 2022; Nafisah, 2023; Setia and Haq, 2023).

Online life due to digitalization has mediated how the arena of religious conflict and the communities involved in a series of social actions have undergone a significant transformation process. The digital era has changed how social movements carried out by activists have become more peaceful without violence (Baldoli, Hermanin, and Radaelli, 2023b). Digital technology has allowed nonviolent action to take root in social movements. Furthermore, the digital era encourages activists and communities to conduct online activities (Ismail, Munsi, and Hans, 2019). Social media is considered a "highly scalable, accessible, and inexpensive media platform," capable of building networks across groups by sharing ideas, activities, events, and interests (Frangonikolopoulos and Chapsos, 2012).

The choice of a nonviolent campaign in the digital era is, in fact, a rational choice for activists to hack, reject, or make a religious moderation revolution. Researchers have identified at least some of these rational reasons. *First*, a massive number of participants is needed to achieve success in a religious moderation campaign. Previous research related to social movements has shown that the number of participants is a factor that can affect the campaign's success. In other words, when people have been mobilized in massive numbers, campaigns in social movements are more likely to succeed (Castells, 2012; Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011; Denardo, 1985; Oliver, 1993). *Second*, nonviolent campaigns are considered more effective than violent campaigns because nonviolent action has been a more effective tool for social change (Diaz, 2014), advancing human rights, and overthrowing repressive regimes (Zunes, 2000). *Third*, Indonesia is a multi-religious country prone to social conflict. Hence, nonviolent resistance campaigns are more likely in countries with large social networks and economic interdependence, suggesting a link between modernization and social conflict (Butcher and Svensson, 2016).

At the same time, however, the nonviolent campaign movement is vulnerable to challenges. In the current digital era, religious-based problems and conflicts remain a central issue the Indonesian state must address. Empirical facts show that the digital era still faces various cases of blasphemy and fake news in Indonesian society (Ceha, 2022; Rahma, 2021; Sartika and Hidayat, 2020; Yulianto, 2020). Not only that, but the existence of nonviolent campaigns on social media must also be confronted with digital repression, limited online freedom, and the decline of democracy (Cebul and Pinckney, 2022). On the one hand, social media offers opportunities for activists to sow messages of religious moderation; on the other hand, social media can become hegemonic with various discourses of radicalism and violent extremism. Despite these challenges, communities are harnessing the power of social media to counter these trends and promote religious moderation (Setia and Haq, 2023).

In the digital era, social media platforms such as Instagram have become a powerful tool for communities to campaign for religious moderation (Pratiwi et al., 2021). *Religious moderation* is a concept that seeks to foster understanding, tolerance, and peace among different religious groups (Abror, 2020; Subchi et al., 2022). The rise of digital platforms has changed the campaign landscape, enabling new forms of expression and engagement (Cebul and Pinckney, 2022). One example of a community still campaigning for religious moderation on Instagram is @toleransi.id.

The @toleransi.id group aims to build a peaceful and inclusive Indonesian society. As of January 1, 2024, the @toleransi.id community had 35.6k followers on Instagram and 1233 posts due to its active fight for the value and spirit of religious moderation. It shows that the @toleransi.id community routinely shares religious moderation content. On Instagram, the @toleransi.id community posts narratives about hacking and countering radicalism and extremism on social media. They encourage their followers to be accepting of differences. They portray these narratives creatively and inclusively without using violence. In other words, the @toleransi.id group uses social media channels to advocate for religious tolerance.

This article delves into the complexities of this peaceful effort, namely how they use the internet space to promote religious moderation. This study will examine these communities' challenges, such as digital censorship and the intricate dynamics of online conversation. In addition, the study delves into the techniques used by these communities, such as harnessing the power of digital storytelling and engaging followers in meaningful discourse. This study intends to shed light on the innovative ways in which communities use social media to promote religious moderation in the digital age. This paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of digital campaigning and provide lessons for future religious moderation initiatives.

Literature Review

Digital technology and social media advancements have created new chances for social movements and religious moderation initiatives. This study examines past research to understand better how communities use social media to promote religious moderation through nonviolent campaign activities. This section summarizes previous research and indicates the holes that this research can fill. To contextualize the research, we examine various studies on peaceful initiatives and religious moderation efforts on social media.

Transformations due to the rapid development of the online world have impacted social conflicts and community involvement in various social activities (Baldoli et al., 2023). Political contestants and social movement resources increase the likelihood of using nonviolent tactics in campaigns, but these factors do not explain the advantage of nonviolent methods in triggering counter-protests (Edwards, 2021). Today's society is engaged in various campaign movements without the use of violent means. Previous research focusing on nonviolent campaign movements as a tactic and strategy for movement success has shown that nonviolent campaign movements are more effective in promoting messages of peace than violent movements (Chenoweth, Hocking, and Marks, 2022; McClennen, Popovic, and Wright, 2023).

Furthermore, through dilemmatic actions, nonviolent civil disobedience can increase the success of nonviolent campaigns by facilitating group building, delegitimizing opponents, reducing fear, and generating sympathetic media coverage (McClennen et al., 2023). However, the use of nonviolent campaign tactics or movement strategies is affected by other determinants depending on the movement's ideology (Asal et al., 2013; Cunningham, 2013).

Furthermore, through dilemmatic actions, nonviolent civil disobedience can increase the success of nonviolent campaigns by facilitating group building, delegitimizing opponents, reducing fear, and generating sympathetic media coverage (McClennen et al., 2023). However, the use of nonviolent campaign tactics or movement strategies is affected by other determinants depending on the movement's ideology (Asal et al., 2013; Cunningham, 2013).

Little previous research focuses on how nonviolent campaign movements work in the digital age (Baldoli, Hermanin, and Radaelli, 2023a; Diaz, 2014; Edwards, Howard, and Joyce, 2013; Sari et al., 2022). Nevertheless, nonviolent campaign movements in the digital age have become increasingly prevalent and influential. Nonviolence in the digital world is not separate from offline actions, and there is a need to address the continuum between online and offline experiences when researching nonviolence.

It is necessary to highlight the importance of the digital environment for nonviolence and explore its role and potential of nonviolence in the digital world (Baldoli et al., 2023a). Nonviolent methods, including social media, can effectively prevent violence and promote peace in violence-prone areas (Diaz, 2014). Digital activism, using digital communication platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, has positively impacted mobilizing people to protest and advocate for changes in government policies (Edwards et al., 2013). Digital communication platforms, such as Instagram, have also been observed to deliver messages of peace and promote campaigns for a better life (Sari et al., 2022). Digital communication is central to the effectiveness of nonviolent action.

Digital activism has hacked how the religious moderation movement is practiced. Religious moderation is generally figured out as a religious group's tolerance of different religions while at the same time refraining from liberalism (Subchi et al., 2022). Religious

moderation is currently used as a strategy to overcome radicalism and extremism in religion. In this regard, social media has become a platform for massively disseminating religious moderation, especially in the current digital era. Previous research related to religious moderation campaigns on social media is divided into several focuses, including 1) strategies to strengthen religious moderation through social media digital content (Anwar and Haq, 2019; Fitri, 2023; Marwantika, 2022; Pratiwi et al., 2021; Wibowo, 2019; Yanasari, 2021). 2) Discourse contained in religious moderation content on social media (Iswanto et al., 2022; Mustakimah and Waehama, 2023). 3) The role of influencers in realizing religious moderation on social media (Aini, Aulia, and Zulfahmi, 2022; Elvinaro and Syarif, 2022; Hidayah, 2023; Pamungkas, Siagian, and Lumbangaol, 2023; Siagian and Saburi, 2023; Sofyan, 2023; Yanasari, 2021; Zulaecha et al., 2023).

The literature review results show two tendencies of research methods often used by previous researchers. The average research uses quantitative case study methods in the literature relevant to the nonviolent campaign movement. In the literature on religious moderation campaigns on social media, the average research uses qualitative methods with case studies. Therefore, in conducting the current research, researchers used a qualitative method with a digital ethnography approach. Only one study (Pamungkas et al. 2023) used this approach. Furthermore, until now, research has yet to be found that uses the theory of networked social movements and the concept of nonviolent campaigns as a tool to explore and answer research problems.

Conceptual Framework

The development of digital technology has brought new forms to social movements (Sitorus, 2022). New forms of media provide access to social movement actors to increase resources and expand communication networks so that they have greater power (Carty, 2014). Social movements are loosely organized collective actions without institutionalized means to produce societal changes (Sztompka, 2017). Therefore, as a form of social movement that can be carried out locally and globally, researchers define a *campaign* as an effort to spread ideas carried out in a planned manner to fight, take action,

change behavior, change conditions, and other related objectives. In this study, the campaign used by the @toleransi.id community to realize religious moderation is a nonviolent approach.

All campaigns occur in the digital age, meaning nonviolent campaigns are more likely to be noticed and reported. New forms of technical assistance are available to them (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2021). Furthermore, a nonviolent campaign is a form of organized activity undertaken to achieve a political or social goal without anarchic violence. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) state that nonviolent campaigns have an advantage over violent uprisings because of higher levels of participation, which is an essential factor in determining campaign outcomes. Barriers to participation in nonviolent resistance are significantly lower compared to violent insurgency, leading to higher participation rates.

This increased participation contributes to success through increased resilience, opportunities for tactical innovation, expanded civil disorder, and shifting allegiances among opponents' supporters, including security forces. Local support is more reliable than external support, which violent campaigns often rely on because of a lack of participants. A successful nonviolent resistance movement will result in a more stable and peaceful democracy than a violent insurgency. Overall, nonviolent resistance campaigns are more effective and likely to establish democratic regimes once they succeed (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011).

Today, social movements have entered an era where movement organizing action, mobilization, and participation are done on social media platforms. It allows people to communicate their grievances widely to an audience of thousands or even millions of people (Chenoweth, 2020). The implication is that social networks are essential in exploring social movements in the digital era. Social movements have now entered a networked phase because of information and communication technology (Castells, 2012).

Networked social movements are conditions of social movements in the

information age when they have entered a networked movement due to the sophistication of information and communication technology. The idea of a new networked social movement was coined by Manuel Castells (2012) in his book Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age. Castells (2012) argues that the context in which all such movements are formed is due to their autonomous communicative capacity, i.e., connecting among participants and with society as a whole through new social media, mediated by smartphones, and a whole galaxy of communication networks.

These new communication systems are both the internet and the internet-based digital social networks and wireless communications that have exploded in the last decade. The spread of internet-based social networks is a necessary condition for the existence of these new social movements in the digital age. Castells argues that through the information circulating on the internet, people's consciousness can be organized and determined.

Castells (2012) states that communicative actions that influence collective action and change are driven by enthusiasm, encouraging deliberate social mobilization. Large-scale communication has been transformed by the emergence of mass self-communication through horizontal and interactive networks on the internet and wireless communication. This new context, which is at the centre of the network society as a new social structure, is where 21st-century social movements emerge.

Religious moderation campaigns on social media can help stem the tide of exclusive religious discourse and promote understanding and tolerance in multicultural communities (Anwar and Haq, 2019). The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs discusses religious moderation as a perspective, attitude, and behavior that always takes a position in the middle, always acts pretty, and is not extreme in religion. The choice of moderation in religion by rejecting radicalism and liberalism is the key to maintaining civilization and building peace (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2019). Therefore, every religious believer can treat others with dignity, accept differences, and coexist peacefully and harmoniously. To achieve such religious moderation, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs provides aspects that must be fulfilled, such as 1) nationality commitment and 2) Tolerance. 3) Anti-violence. 4) Accommodation of local culture (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2019: 43-46).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative content analysis with a descriptive nature. Data were obtained through observation and documentation on the Instagram account of the @toleransi.id community. The data obtained were selected based on the religious moderation aspects of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia uploaded from 2019 to 2023.

This study uses a digital ethnography strategy (Pink et al., 2016). Digital ethnography in this study guides the online community @toleransi.id, engaged in religious moderation and peace using various data collection procedures in the form of observation and documentation on digital content uploaded on the @toleransi.id Instagram account. This digital ethnography study aims to explore and provide an overview of the religious moderation movement carried out by @toleransi.id community to create peace and tolerance in community diversity, which can potentially be a source of social conflict. With a digital ethnography study, researchers can capture the situation, setting, style, and image that arises from reading the text by the meaning or nuances of religious moderation and explore the community's obstacles and strategies in carrying out the religious moderation movement on Instagram.

In addition, to analyze and interpret the data, this study employs content analysis techniques that involve the classification of symbols or symbols used in the content, applying criteria for classification, and using specific analytical techniques to make predictions or analyses. This process is guided by a conceptual framework that includes nonviolent campaigns (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011), networked social movement

theory (Castells, 2012), and the concept of Religious Moderation (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2019).

DISCUSSION

Behind the Walls of the @Toleransi.id Community Religious Moderation Campaign

The @toleransi.id community is engaged in achieving peace, both in the social and religious fields. The @toleransi.id community also appears as a group that consistently campaigns for the equal rights of minority groups on Instagram social media through positive narratives. @toleransi.id utilizes Instagram to create a peaceful society without conflict and violence over ethnicity, culture, race, and religion. The results of their consistency in contributing positive narratives related to the achievement of peace have led them to have many participants, as judged by the number of followers reaching 35.6k. Based on the results of content analysis with digital ethnography strategies that have been carried out, it is found that the @toleransi.id community is more vulnerable to various obstacles in realizing religious moderation on social media.

These obstacles are damaging and can affect the success of the religious moderation campaign on social media. The narrative displayed through religious moderation content includes symbols, semiotics, and language use that can bring the @toleransi.id community to semantic barriers. Semantic barriers occur due to incorrect language and symbols, causing misinterpretation (Alfi and Riyadin, 2018) in conveying information during religious moderation actions or movements on the @toleransi.id Instagram account. In this digital era, new social media has become essential for attracting participants to social change. One way to engage participants is by using rhetoric. However, the @toleransi.id Instagram account faces semantic barriers, where inappropriate words, phrases, or rhetoric can trigger debate.

The debate in the comments column of posts about the Christian vacation Good Friday occurs because the digital content of the @toleransi.id community narrates Good Friday as the day Isa Almasih died. What Christians believe in is "Jesus Christ", not "Isa Almasih" (Toleransi.id, 2023). Then, the next debate occurs in digital content about tolerance, narrating as if generalizing the Indonesian Muslim group as an intolerant group (Toleransi.id 2021c, 2022b, 2022a). Although the goal is to achieve peace and tolerance, debates often occur due to misinterpretation of language and symbols that have double meanings.

Furthermore, the @toleransi.id community is also faced with behavioral barriers. Behavioral barriers occur due to differences in perception, prejudice, emotions, and lack of literacy in capturing meaning or information (Alfi and Riyadin, 2018). However, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs states that in addition to having extensive knowledge and always being careful. Being able to control emotions to avoid crossing the line is also essential for moderate behavior (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2019).

Content study with a digital ethnography strategy shows that the lack of literacy and understanding of religious moderation content on the @toleransi.id Instagram account is evident from comments that need more context. For example, some comments consider the account heretical and promote the teachings of other religions besides Islam. Some even ask about Abu Janda in the Christian Ash Wednesday content (Toleransi.id, 2021a). In addition, it was also found that users' understanding of the content presented by @toleransi.id was still lacking. That quickly ignited emotions, and perceptions of disapproval became behavioral obstacles in implementing the religious moderation movement on the @toleransi.id Instagram account. This emotion and disapproval can be seen from the comments of Instagram users who think that the @toleransi.id account is too talkative, misleading, and promotes excessive tolerance values (Toleransi.id 2019c, 2021a, 2021c, 2021d). These behavioral barriers can guide the @toleransi.id account to rejection by some public members, thus hindering the implementation of the religious moderation movement.

Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) stated that nonviolent campaigns have a participation advantage over violent insurgency, an essential factor in determining campaign outcomes. Moral, physical, informational, and focus barriers to participation are much lower in nonviolent resistance compared to violent insurgency. However, this is different from the

results of the current study, which show that in the nonviolent campaign movement, the @toleransi.id community faces various semantic and behavioral barriers that can trigger resistance to the community. Previous studies also show that many obstacles are still encountered in religious moderation campaigns on social media (Hidayah, 2023; Nisa et al., 2021; Zulaecha et al., 2023). Hidayah's study (2023) found that in addition to the difficulty in creating campaign digital content on social media platforms, mobilizers must face crucial obstacles in the form of adverse reactions or rejection from some social media audiences due to substantial differences in opinion and the potential to trigger conflict.

Meanwhile, the study by Zulaecha et al. (2023) found that the obstacle in da'wah to disseminate peaceful religious understanding is that access is still limited to people who already know about social media. Religious moderation in today's digital era faces challenges, including hoaxes. With high internet speed, information production increases and hoax news can be mixed with other information on social media. These hoaxes can provoke and deceive people, leading to religious-based problems (Nisa et al., 2021).

Communication is central to the effectiveness of nonviolent action (Martin and Varney, 2003). Through symbolic nonviolent communication actions represented through visual content, the religious moderation movement on the @toleransi.id Instagram account attempts to appear as a community that spreads peace by relying on communicative actions. The dissemination of visual content of religious moderation as a symbolic action of the nonviolent campaign movement contains rhetorical value, which is an essential element in delivering messages and has the power to move Instagram users to engage in social movements. However, obstacles, such as differences in perception and the need for more user literacy in digesting the content, can affect the success of this movement. Social media can turn freedom into hate and criminalization (Lim, 2017). It is a consequence of obstacles the @toleransi.id Instagram account must face in performing the religious moderation movement on Instagram.

Sporadically, intolerance can spread in today's digital era. The freedom to upload content on social media can be a source of conflict due to arguments between uploaders and social media users (Mahsusi et al., 2023). As a community with a mass base on social media or the current digital public space, they inevitably have to deal with these consequences because anyone can vote to interact in the digital public space. In other words, communicative action in the digital public sphere is inevitable. Their autonomous actions in digital media result from obstacles in implementing the religious moderation movement on the @toleransi.id Instagram account. Autonomy is society's capacity, individually or collectively, to organize all activities without being regulated by institutional regulations. Freedom space is where physical and online spaces interact (Castells and Kumar, 2014). The autonomous space is welcoming. A space of debate, to move from opposing an unjust system to reorganizing society from the bottom up (Castells, 2012).

Breaking Down the Wall: Disseminating Religious Moderation on Social Media

The nonviolent campaign movement of the @toleransi.id community is a networked movement. This means the @toleransi.id community is a social movement based on communicative action through digital media, especially the internet. This movement uses innovative forms of self-organization and technology in the movement's dynamics. Because of its networked nature, the @toleransi.id community seeks to attract attention and mobilize the network community to participate in a series of actions, such as promoting religious moderation and social campaigns for religious moderation and socialization. For this reason, they use various strategies to influence people's perspectives and behavior to be more moderate on social media.

To disseminate and educate Indonesia's multi-religious society about religious moderation and the need to realize the feast of diversity, the @toleransi.id community uses various campaign strategies and methods. It is often done through informal tactics such as creating inclusive digital content, opening dialogues to deliberate on tolerance issues, holding intellectual discourses, and using the Instagram platform to mobilize digital activities.

The most important way the @toleransi.id community campaigns for religious moderation is through creative digital content (Toleransi.id 2022d, 2023e, 2023c, 2023a). Creative nonviolent campaigns were chosen because they are accessible and more transformative in advancing social justice and peace, and the combination of artistic expression, direct action, and technological tools can engage public participation and influence cultural evolution (Dorland, 2015). There are many types of digital content used by the @toleransi.id community to perform this campaign, such as image content regarding greetings in commemoration of religious holidays, image content of facts and contemporary issues related to the dynamics of religious and cultural diversity in Indonesia and video content on how the practice of interfaith tolerance is carried out in Indonesia.

In conducting campaigns, the @toleransi.id community also uses aspects of symbols that represent certain religions, such as the use of easy-to-understand language, religious symbols, houses of worship, and the characteristics of specific religious dress. This strategy effectively reduces the exclusivity of content that does not influence one religion. Moreover, the @toleransi.id community has 35.6k followers, so inclusive tactics are needed so that many parties can accept digital content about religious moderation. Through an inclusive digital content strategy, the @toleransi.id community seeks to broadly introduce ideas to social media users through this cultivating process.

The utilization of this feature has encouraged followers of the @toleransi.id community to carry out various activities on Instagram, such as liking, commenting if they appreciate or disagree with posts, responding to each other to share content uploaded by @toleransi.id to friends or the "Instagram Story" feature (Toleransi.id, 2019b). Not only that, but the @toleransi.id community can also encourage its followers to voice ideas and perspectives using the Instagram "Ask Me Question" feature, discuss and share experiences of tolerance, and initiate peace projects.

Interestingly, the @toleransi.id Instagram account efficiently communicates the notion of tolerance to its followers. Instagram features such as Highlights and Ask Me Questions enable debate and mutual involvement between the @toleransi.id Instagram account and its followers. It facilitates the successful sharing of knowledge and understanding of tolerance. In other words, interactive elements like Ask Me Question can stimulate followers' participation and engagement, facilitating productive debate and the sharing of ideas. It can promote tolerance and mutual respect among users, particularly younger ones.

To empower social media users to promote religious moderation, the @toleransi.id community runs education and socialization programs (Toleransi.id 2022c, 2022e, 2023b). The @toleransi.id community's nonviolent campaign approach to achieving religious moderation is becoming increasingly evident in how they launch various types of intellectual conversation on social media. They involve social media users and followers to participate in seminars, trainings, and workshops held online and offline.

Several activities are designed to promote positive engagement on social media. One of these is the "Voice of Moderation". This program invites social media users to become content creators who understand how to resist violent narratives. Another exercise is "Narasi Toleransi". This program involves coaching sessions in which participants face problems. Through these challenges, participants can learn about tolerance, diversity, critical thinking, and inclusiveness. Lastly, there is the "Creator Space". This platform encourages social media users, particularly the younger generation, to make a positive impact. They are invited to create digital content that promotes inclusivity and freedom of religion and belief. These activities collectively aim to foster a more understanding and tolerant online community.

In implementing this intellectual discourse, the @toleransi.id community invited speakers of various elements of community leaders, survivors, and drivers of tolerance, including academics. Various elements of society that have been involved in the @toleransi.id community include Sherly Maharani (Chairperson of Yayasan Sahabat Kapas), Indra Anggara (Penghayat Budi Daya), Ayu Kartika Dewi (Special Staff to the President of the Republic of Indonesia), Dody Wibowo (Lecturer in Master of Peace and Conflict Resolution at Gajah Mada University), Iradat Wirid (Executive Secretary of Internal Affairs and Community Development, Center for

Digital Society), and Ardil Wilda (Senior Content Manager of Kitabisa).

The choice of the presenters in the intellectual discourse designed by the @toleransi.id community is because they want to show the public that religious moderation has urgency in a multicultural society and the problems of radicalism and religious extremism are problems that are relevant today, so they need to be eradicated in order to achieve peace and harmonization.

Not only that, another goal of the @toleransi.id community is to hold intellectual discourse like this, which is to socialize (internalize) ideas to be accepted by the wider community. Interestingly, to attract the attention of its followers, the @toleransi.id community always provides additional benefits in the form of microgrants for the best participants, coaching with experts, digital certificates, and internet allowances. With nonviolent campaigns, such intellectual discourse is targeted to increase followers' confidence in the @toleransi.id community and strengthen their ties in the @toleransi.id community movement both online and offline.

On the one hand, mass actions in violent campaign movements on social media are more likely to be "black campaigns", which involve spreading negative information or slander (Doly, 2020). On the other hand, mass actions in the nonviolent campaign movement on social media are more likely to mobilize users with a more harmonious and massive approach by spreading positive messages. In this case, the @toleransi.id community performs all forms of user mobilization using the Instagram social networking platform (Toleransi.id, 2023b).

On the Instagram platform, the @toleransi.id community can easily publish various activities that have been carried out both offline and online in the form of photos or videos so that social media users or followers can participate or provide support by liking, resharing, and commenting on the post. Additionally, the @toleransi.id community can quickly mobilize because of the sophisticated features of the Instagram platform, such as the hashtag (#) feature on #DobrakPrasangka, #TanamEmpati, and #RawatToleransi. These three hashtags represent the idea of the @toleransi.id community to realize how tolerance is close to the hearts of the people, so it needs to be echoed. Through these hashtags, the @toleransi.id community can easily influence public opinion because the hashtags contain various information about tolerance and peace due to the high level of visibility to accessibility so that social media users or followers of the @toleransi.id community are involved in disseminating positive messages of tolerance. Also, the @toleransi.id community can capture and connect between one user and another user who accesses the information in the hashtag.

Based on the research results presented, researchers observe that the strategic efforts of the @toleransi.id community to disseminate religious moderation are a form of overcoming their obstacles in realizing religious moderation during hoaxes and hate speech in the current digital era. This hoax news can provoke and deceive people in religion-based cases or problems (Nisa et al., 2021). Prastyo and Inayati's study (2022) found that a digital literacy culture can strengthen religious moderation for Mahad UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang (State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang) students. Implementing this digital literacy culture raises awareness to practice and expand Islamic values and teachings relevant to Kyai or religious leaders. Then, it can integrate all the values of religious moderation into a digital network to be a learning dissemination for all generations. In line with these findings, the results of content analysis show that the @toleransi.id community is breaking the wall of lack of literacy in digesting tolerance content; they hold various intellectual discourses (seminars, trainings, and workshops) to strengthen literacy, such as Narasi Toleransi, Voice of Moderation and Ask Me Question.

In contrast to the results of previous research, bureaucratic activities through conventional events, methods, and media, such as recitation methods, workshops, and national dialogues (Akhmadi, 2019) and strengthening the implementation of religious moderation programs in Indonesia by involving mainstream Islamic social organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah (Asroor, 2019). The results of this study reject the idea that the realization of religious moderation only relies on bureaucratic aspects that are limited to seasonal activities and involve only the majority group. However, the

results show that in realizing religious moderation in the current digital era, it needs to be campaigned massively, which is not only "seasonal" but sustainably through digital platforms. Through the nonviolent campaign movement to realize religious moderation carried out on the Instagram platform, the @toleransi.id community strives to sow positive messages through creative and inclusive campaigns to show the results of religious moderation for all groups.

Figure 1. Nonviolent Religious Moderation Campaign Movement Strategy of the @toleransi.id Community
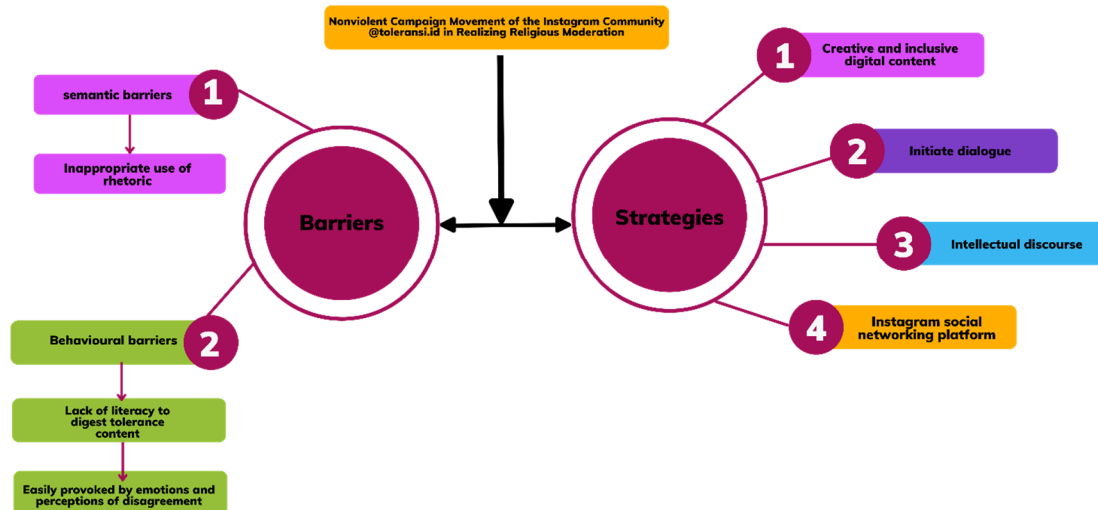
Source: Data analysis, 2023

Some strategies are designed to break down the walls of semantic barriers and not only focus on aspects of behavioral barriers. Content analysis with a digital ethnography strategy shows that the @toleransi.id community brings up cultural aspects, such as religious symbols, in conducting religious moderation campaigns on the Instagram platform to overcome this barrier. The use of rhetorical means and symbols or cultural elements that already exist, such as flags, colors, writing styles, and religious symbols, strengthens and helps express (Sørensen and Vinthagen, 2012) the ideas of the @toleransi.id community so that its existence does not experience resistance. In other words, through this cultural aspect, nonviolent campaigns can help activists challenge the dominant culture they oppose, express their identity and solidarity, motivate and inspire their members, and communicate their vision and goals to others (Sørensen and Vinthagen, 2012).

Recent social movements often originate and develop on the internet. The Internet, as a tool of grassroots democracy, allows activists to endeavor to improve society. One example is the religious moderation movement on Instagram, which took advantage of easy access to social media to spread and organize their movement. Nonviolent campaign movements succeed by building a large and diverse follower base, as @toleransi.id has done on Instagram. Their success relies on mass participation and sustained diversity. As a multimodal platform, Instagram allows users to quickly capture and share content, shape community culture, and attract a broad audience. In the digital age, social movements have become global and learned from each other. The Internet is becoming essential for expressing and spreading global awareness of threats to religious radicalism and extremism.

CLOSING

The @toleransi.id community, with its 35.6k followers on Instagram, is a powerful force for promoting religious moderation. They propagate their message through nonviolent campaigns and encourage their followers to participate in activities that do not include destructive violence. Despite obstacles, they promote tolerance through creative content, debates, seminars, and workshops. They use social media to mobilize their audience and develop networks. Their nonviolent campaign is organized as a networked social movement that uses

information technology to coordinate actions and share knowledge. Additionally, their nonviolent movement efficiently utilizes these networks to reach a larger audience and achieve their objectives.

Realizing religious moderation requires hard work. Disagreement and a lack of digital literacy can hinder the success of the @toleransi.id movement. Therefore, improving digital literacy is essential to increase the understanding of social media users. Individuals, communities, and governments must adapt to digital media to realize religious moderation. Further research is also needed to understand the effectiveness of nonviolent campaigns and resource mobilization of social movements. Attention must also be paid to small narratives in social movements that reject the paradigm of religious moderation on social media.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Abror, Mhd. 2020. "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Bingkai Toleransi (Kajian Islam Dan Keberagaman)." *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 1(12). doi: https://doi.org/10.35961/rsd.v1vi2i.174.

Aini, Nurul, Isra Aulia, and Zulfahmi. 2022. "Melawan Intoleransi Dan Ekstremisme Media Sosial : Inovasi Kampanye Moderasi Beragama Kanal Youtube Labpsa Tv." *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia (JSAI)* 3(1):69–81. doi: 10.22373/jsai.v3i1.1687.

Akhmadi, Agus. 2019. "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia." *Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 13(2):45–55.

Alfi, Imam, and Dedi Riyadin. 2018. "Hambatan Komunikasi Pendamping Sosial." *Al-Balgh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 3(2). doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.22515/balagh.v3i2.1397 Imam.

Anwar, Fatmawati, and Islamul Haq. 2019. "Religious Moderation Campaign Through Social Media at Multicultural Communities." *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 12(2):177–87. doi: 10.35905/kur.v12i2.1392.

Asal, Victor, Richard Legault, Ora Szekely, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 2013. "Gender Ideologies and Forms of Contentious Mobilization in the Middle East." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3):305–18. doi: 10.1177/0022343313476528.

Asroor, Zaimul. 2019. "Islam Transnasional vs Islam Moderat: Upaya NU Dan MD Dalam Menyuarakan Islam Moderat Di Panggung Dunia." *AT-TURAS: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 6(2):31–73. doi: 10.33650/at-turas.v6i2.807.

Baldoli, Roberto, Costanza Hermanin, and Claudio M. Radaelli. 2023a. "Nonviolence Goes Digital: A Research Agenda."

Baldoli, Roberto, Costanza Hermanin, and Claudio M. Radaelli. 2023b. *Nonviolence Goes Digital: A Research And Policy Agenda*. Vol. 12.

Bock, Joseph G. 2012. "The Efficacy of Nonviolent Movements." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 5(1):74–76. doi: 10.1080/17467586.2012.708878.

Butcher, Charles, and Isak Svensson. 2016. "Manufacturing Dissent: Modernization and the Onset of Major Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(2):311–39. doi: 10.1177/0022002714541843.

Carty, Victoria. 2014. "Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt : The Impact of New Media on Contemporary Social Movements and Challenges for Social Movement Theory Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt : The Impact of New Media On." *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 51(1):51–80.

Castells, Manuel. 2015. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in The Internet Age*. 2nd ed. USA: Politiy Press.

Castells, Manuel, and Mukul Kumar. 2014. "A Conversation with Manuel Castells." *Berkeley Planning Journal* 27(1):93–99. doi: 10.5070/bp327124502.

Cebul, Matthew, and Jonathan Pinckney. 2022. *Nonviolent Action in the Era of Digital Authoritarianism: Hardships and Innovations*.

Ceha, Aida. 2022. "Lagi! Hoax Menag Bangun Kiblat Baru Islam Nusantara, Kakanwil : Cermati Dan Harus Cerdas Membaca Berita." *Ntt.Kemenag.Go.Id.*

Chenoweth, Erica. 2020. "The Future of Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Democracy* 31(3):69–84. doi: 10.1353/jod.2020.0046.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Kathleen G. Cunningham. 2013. "Understanding Nonviolent Resistance: An Introduction." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3):271–76. doi: 10.1177/0022343313480381.

Chenoweth, Erica, Andrew Hocking, and Zoe Marks. 2022. "A Dynamic Model of Nonviolent Resistance Strategy." *PLoS ONE* 17(7 July):1–19. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0269976.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.* Columbia University Press.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2021. *The Role of External Support in Nonviolent Campaigns: Poisoned Chalice or Holy Grail?* International Center on Nonviolent Conflict.

Cunningham, Kathleen G. 2013. "Understanding Strategic Choice: The Determinants of Civil War and Nonviolent Campaign in Self-Determination Disputes." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3):291–304. doi: 10.1177/0022343313475467.

Denardo, James. 1985. *Power in Number: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion.* Princeton University Press.

Diaz, Y. Vidal. 2014. "The Technology of Nonviolence: Social Media and Violence Prevention by Joseph G. Bock." *International Social Science Review* 89:5.

Doly, Denico. 2020. "Penegakan Hukum Kampanye Hitam (Black Campaign) Di Media Sosial: Pembelajaran Pemilihan Umum Presiden Tahun 2019." *Kajian* 25(1):1–18.

Dorland, Emma. 2015. "Creative Nonviolent Action: Leveraging the Intersections of Art, Protest, and Information and Communications Technology for Social Change." Robert D. Clark Honors College.

Edwards, Frank, Philip N. Howard, and Mary Joyce. 2013. "Digital Activism and NonnViolent Conflict." *SSRN Electronic Journal.* doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2595115.

Edwards, Pearce. 2021. "The Politics Of Nonviolent Mobilization: Campaigns, Competition, And Social Movement Resources." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(5):945–61. doi: 10.1177/0022343320958456.

Elvinaro, Qintannajmia, and Dede Syarif. 2022. "Generasi Milenial Dan Moderasi Beragama: Promosi Moderasi Beragama Oleh Peace Generation Di Media Sosial." *JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 11(2):195–218. doi: 10.15575/jispo.v11i2.14411.

Fitri, Alifa Nur. 2023. "Kampanye Public Relations Sebagai Upaya Meningkatkan Awareness Moderasi Beragama." *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 22(1):35–49. doi: 10.18592/alhadharah.v22i1.8613.

Frangonikolopoulos, Christos A., and Ioannis Chapsos. 2012. "Explaining the Role and the Impact of the Social Media in the Arab Spring." *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition* 8(1):10–20.

Hidayah, Ifa. 2023. "Navigasi Ruang Digital : Peran Guru Dalam Kampanye Moderasi Beragama Melalui Media Sosial." *Journal of Education Research* 4(4):2439–51.

Ismail, Ahmad, Hardiyanti Munsi, and Amril Hans. 2019. "Online Social Movement: Adopsi Teknologi Informasi Dalam Melakukan Gerakan Sosial Di Indonesia." *ETNOSIA : Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia* 4(1):91. doi: 10.31947/etnosia.v4i1.5039.

Iswanto, Agus, Moch Lukluil Maknun, Roch Aris Hidayat, and Muhammad Aji Nugroho. 2022. "The Religious Moderation Discourse in Social Media: Studies on Ach Dhofir Zuhry's Facebook and YouTube." *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 23(1). doi: 10.14421/esensia.v23i1.2895.

Kementerian Agama RI. 2019. *Moderasi Beragama.* Vol. 12. Jakarta Pusat: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI Gedung.

Lim, Merlyna. 2017. "Freedom To Hate : Social Media , Algorithmic Enclaves, And The Rise Of Tribal Nationalism In

Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 1–17. doi: 10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188.

Mahsusi, Syihaabul Hudaa, Nuryani, Ahmad Bahtiar, and Makyun Subuki. 2023. "Identifying Values of Religious Moderation Through Learning Activities." *Al-Qalam Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 29.

Martin, Brian, and Wendy Varney. 2003. "Nonviolence and Communication." *Journal of Peace Research* 40(2):213–32. doi: 10.1177/0022343303040002619.

Marwantika, Asna Istya. 2022. "Religious Moderation Campaigns on Social Media : Trend , Content Strategies and Public Sentiment." Pp. 52–66 in *Proceeding of the 3rd International Conference on Islamic Studies (ICIS)*. Vol. 3.

McClennen, Sophia, Srdja Popovic, and Joseph Wright. 2023. "How to Sharpen a Nonviolent Movement." *Journal of Democracy* 34(1). doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2023.0007.

Mustakimah, Lina, and Muhammad Roflee Waehama. 2023. "Wacana Moderasi Beragama Dalam Akun Instagram @mubadalah.Id." *Jurnal Iman Dan Spiritualitas* 3(1):149–58. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.15575/jis.v3i1.24384.

Nafisah, Dhurrotun. 2023. "Peran Ning Influencer Dalam Mewujudkan Moderasi Beragama Di Media Sosial." *Jurnal Studi Sosial Keagamaan Syekh Nurjati* 3(02).

Nisa, Muria Khusnun, Ahmad Yani, Andika, Eka Mulyo Yunus, and Yusuf Rahman. 2021. "Moderasi Beragama: Landasan Moderasi Dalam Tradisi Berbagai Agama Dan Implementasi Di Era Disrupsi Digital." *Jurnal Riset Agama* 1(Desember):79–96. doi: 10.15575/jra.v1i3.15100.

Oliver, Gerald Marwell and Pamela. 1993. *The Critcal Mass in Collective Action: A Micro-Social Theory*. edited by J. Elster and M. S. McPherson. Cambridge University Press.

Pamungkas, Martinus Danang, Nuarisa Efrata Siagian, and Winda Rita Dewi Lumbangaol. 2023. "Influencing Practice: Konten Media Sosial Sebagai Upaya Moderasi Beragama." in

Moderasi Beragama: Akar Teologi, Nalar Kebudayaan, dan Kontestasi di Ruang Digital. Penerbit BRIN.

Pink, Sarah, Heather Horst, John Postill, Larissa Hjorth, Tania Lewis, and Jo Tacchi. 2016. *Digital Ethnography Principles and Practice*. edited by J. Seaman. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Prastyo, Angga Teguh, and Isna Nurul Inayati. 2022. "Implementasi Budaya Literasi Digital Untuk Menguatkan Moderasi Beragama Bagi Santri (Studi Kasus Di Mahad Uin Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang)." *INCARE : International Journal of Educational Resources* 02(06):665–83.

Pratiwi, Putri Septi, Mia Putri Seytawati, Ahmad Fauzan Hidayatullah, Ismail, and Tafsir. 2021. "Moderasi Beragama Dan Media Sosial (Studi Analisis Konten Instagram & Tik-Tok)." *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 6(1).

Rahma, Andita. 2021. "Polri Tangkap Yahya Waloni Dalam Kasus Dugaan Ujaran Kebencian." *Nasional.Tempo.Co* https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1499114/ polri-tangk. Retrieved (https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1499114 /polri-tangkap-yahya-waloni-dalam-kasus-dugaan-ujaran-kebencian).

Sari, Sulhizah Wulan, Baiatun Nisa, Maulani Pangestu, and Muhammad Azwar. 2022. "Reading the Message of Peace Campaign in the Global Happiness Challenge Instagram: The Digital Communication Era." *International Journal of Media and Information Literacy* 7(1):197–209. doi: 10.13187/ijmil.2022.1.197.

Sartika, Anita, and Wahyu Hidayat. 2020. "Intoleransi Beragama Di Media Sosial : Analisis Narasi Hoaks Dan Interaksi Netizen." Pp. 840–63 in *International Conference on Cultures & Languages*. Vol. 1.

Setia, Paelani, and Mochamad Ziaul Haq. 2023. "Countering Radicalism in Social Media by Campaiging for Religious Moderation." *Focus* 4(1):13–24.

Siagian, Tri Uci Rahmayani, and Annai Saburi. 2023. "The Role of Community @Toleransi.Id in Religious Moderation in Social Media Instagram." *JHSS (Journal of Humanities and Social Studies)* 07(02):395–400. doi:

https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v7i2.7558.

Sitorus, Alhamudin Maju Hamonangan. 2022. "Social Network Analysis (SNA) Tentang Protes Digital Di Twitter: Studi Pada Tagar #CabutPermenJHT56Tahun." *SOSIOGLOBAL : Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi* 7(1).

Sofyan, Muhammad Ali. 2023. "Moderasi Beragama Di Media Sosial." *AdZikra : Jurnal Komunikasi & Penyiaran Islam* 13(2):130–44. doi: 10.32678/adzikra.v13i2.6624.

Sørensen, Majken Jul, and Stellan Vinthagen. 2012. "Nonviolent Resistance and Culture." *Peace & Change* 37(3):444–70. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0130.2012.00758.x.

Subchi, Imam, Zulkifli Zulkifli, Rena Latifa, and Sholikatus Sa'diyah. 2022. "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims." *Religions* 13(5):1–11. doi: 10.3390/rel13050451.

Sztompka, Piotr. 2017. *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: Kencana.

Tari, Ezra. 2022. "Mengembangkan Moderasi Beragama Di Kalangan Generasi Milenial Melalui Perspektif Perjanjian Baru." *Kurios* 8(1):114. doi: 10.30995/kur.v8i1.474.

Toleransi.id. 2019a. "Berani Berpendapat." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/18041230612052015/).

Toleransi.id. 2019b. "Pengalaman." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17884368529293087/).

Toleransi.id. 2019c. "Warga Muslim Bantu Perayaan Natal Di Semarang." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/B6c7um8gUGC/).

Toleransi.id. 2021a. "Berbuka Puasa Bersama Biarawati." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CYA9ALbBITB/).

Toleransi.id. 2021b. "Dari Debu Jadi Debu." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CLYlgM_BjH_/).

Toleransi.id. 2021c. "Sebenarnya Boleh Gak Sih Ngucapin Natal?" *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/reel/CX3WTezJNN9/).

Toleransi.id. 2021d. "Sholawat Badar Oleh Remaja Gereja Papua Untuk Umat Muslim." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/reel/COKtdYGHu2f/).

Toleransi.id. 2022a. "Biarawati Jadi Ketua RT?" *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CcxNGCsB_Py/).

Toleransi.id. 2022b. "Intoleransi Di Sekolah? Kalo Gak Islam, Gak Boleh Jadi Ketua Osis." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CkAK2FRyUid/).

Toleransi.id. 2022c. "Voice of Moderation: Jadi Kreator Konten Yang Ngerti Hadapi Narasi Kekerasan!" *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/ChJ2TCRhwPw/).

Toleransi.id. 2022d. "Wanita Berjilbab Bantu Biarawati Di Jalan." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/Cg4H2zDBr12/).

Toleransi.id. 2022e. "Yuk, Kenalan Sama Pemateri Narasi Toleransi." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/ClI311Vy5bK/).

Toleransi.id. 2023a. "Bukber Lintas Agama? Kenapa Engga?" *Instagram*. Retrieved (https://www.instagram.com/p/CrS6j7xSRRs/).

Toleransi.id. 2023b. "Creator Space Mari Bersama-Sama Ciptakan Dampak Positif!" *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr3Bdwmyps2/?locale=it_IT).

Toleransi.id. 2023c. "Kepercayaan Aluk Tolodo." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CsLSzgSSIA1/).

Toleransi.id. 2023d. "Profil Instagram @Toleransi.Id." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/toleransi.id/).

Toleransi.id. 2023e. "Rahajeng Rahina Nyepi." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CqFGIH 5Sd3r/).

Toleransi.id. 2023f. "Selamat Hari Jumat Agung Bagi Teman-Teman Kristiani." *Instagram*. Retrieved October 5, 2023 (https://www.instagram.com/p/CquBV7 hyBFk/).

Wibowo, Ari. 2019. "Kampanye Moderasi Beragama Di Facebook : Bentuk Dan Strategi Pesan." *EDUGAMA: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Sosial Keagamaan* 5(1):85–103.

Yanasari, Pebri. 2021. "Pengutan Moderasi Beragama Melalui Media Sosial." *EDUGAMA: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Sosial Keagamaan* 7(2):242–62. doi: 10.32923/edugama.v7i1.1981.

Yulianto, Agus. 2020. "Polisi Tangkap Pelaku Penistaan Agama Lewat Media Sosial." *New.Republika.Co.Id* https://news.republika.co.id/berita/qarbv v396/poli. Retrieved (https://news.republika.co.id/berita/qarb vv396/polisi-tangkap-pelaku-penistaan-agama-lewat-media-sosial).

Zulaecha, Nikita Nur, Hafidz, Biela Nanda Oktivibi Pertiwi, and Husna Nashihin. 2023. "Pemanfaatan Media Sosial Sebagai Dakwah Digital Dalam Penyiaraan Agama Kalangan Kaum Milenial Di Instagram (Ustadz Hanan Attaki)." *Attractive : Innovative Education Journal* 5(2):534–47.

Zunes, Stephen. 2000. "Nonviolent Action and Human Rights." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(2):181–87. doi: https://doi.org/10.2307/420888.