Religious Tolerance Narratives on Social Media: Network Analysis of Indonesian Civil Society Organizations on Instagram (2019–2023)

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Abstract

This study examines the role of Indonesian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in promoting religious tolerance narratives through social media, particularly Instagram, from 2019 to 2023. The research addresses the challenges CSOs face in countering intolerance and polarization online, emphasizing the digital strategies they employ. Utilizing a Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method, the study integrates quantitative network mapping and qualitative text analysis to explore content patterns, collaborations, and audience engagement. Primary data was collected from 25 CSO Instagram accounts, supported by textual analysis, observations, interviews, and documentation. The research focuses on two key questions: (1) What do CSO networks promoting interfaith tolerance look like? and (2) How are narratives of tolerance structured and disseminated within these networks? Findings highlight variations in CSO strategies, showing that highly active organizations achieve broader reach through consistent posting, while smaller CSOs rely on quality content and partnerships to remain impactful. Despite algorithmic challenges and echo chambers, CSOs effectively leverage social media to advance tolerance narratives, integrating cultural and religious contexts. The study underscores the need for collaborative networks and adaptive digital strategies to amplify inclusive messages and mitigate intolerance, offering insights into strengthening CSO efforts in the digital era.

Penelitian ini mengkaji peran Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil (OMS) Indonesia dalam mempromosikan narasi toleransi beragama melalui media sosial, khususnya Instagram, dari tahun 2019 hingga 2023. Penelitian ini membahas tantangan yang dihadapi OMS dalam melawan intoleransi dan polarisasi online, dengan menekankan pada strategi digital yang mereka gunakan. Dengan menggunakan metode Analisis Jaringan Wacana (DNA), penelitian ini mengintegrasikan pemetaan jaringan kuantitatif dan analisis teks kualitatif untuk mengeksplorasi pola konten, kolaborasi, dan keterlibatan audiens. Data primer

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dikumpulkan dari 25 akun Instagram OMS, didukung oleh analisis tekstual, observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Penelitian ini berfokus pada dua pertanyaan kunci: (1) Seperti apa jaringan OMS yang mempromosikan toleransi antaragama? dan (2) Bagaimana narasi toleransi disusun dan disebarkan dan disebarkan dalam jaringan ini? Temuan-temuan menyoroti variasi dalam strategi OMS, yang menunjukkan menunjukkan bahwa organisasi yang sangat aktif mencapai jangkauan yang lebih luas melalui yang lebih luas melalui postingan yang konsisten, sementara OMS yang lebih kecil mengandalkan konten berkualitas dan kemitraan untuk tetap berdampak. Terlepas dari tantangan algoritmik dan ruang gema, OMS secara efektif memanfaatkan media sosial untuk memajukan narasi toleransi, mengintegrasikan konteks budaya dan mengintegrasikan konteks budaya dan agama. Studi ini menggarisbawahi perlunya jaringan kolaboratif dan strategi digital yang adaptif untuk memperkuat pesan-pesan inklusif dan mengurangi intoleransi, menawarkan wawasan untuk memperkuat upaya OMS di era digital.
digital.

Keywords: Religious Tolerance; Civil Society Organizations; Social Media Networks; Digital Narratives; Network Analysis

Introduction

Social media significantly influences societal views on tolerance, especially through CSOs promoting tolerance messages. However, CSOs face constraints like limited resources, hindering follower growth and message reach. Most CSO accounts are nano-influencers with over 1,000 followers, limiting their audience to smaller, homogenous groups. AI-driven algorithms create echo chambers, exposing users only to like-minded content, reducing diverse discussions and fostering fragmentation.[1] These limits diverse discussions and fosters social fragmentation, making it harder for CSOs to reach broader audiences or engage with differing viewpoints. It hinders awareness of social issues and reinforces echo chambers, where like-minded individuals reinforce beliefs without considering alternatives.[2]

As one of the largest Instagram user bases in the world, Indonesia is highly susceptible to the impact of digital algorithms in shaping identities and public opinion. AI-driven algorithmic bubbles on this platform reinforce identity-based sentiments, creating knowledge silos and reducing tolerance for differing views. Instagram's personalized content feeds deepen echo chambers, making

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[1] Jan-Frederik Gräve, "Exploring the Perception of Influencers Vs. Traditional Celebrities," in *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on social media & Society - #SMSociety17* (New York, New York, USA: ACM Press, 2017), 1–5.

[2] Devie Rahmawati, "Risiko Polarisasi Algoritma Media Sosial : Kajian Terhadap Kerentanan Sosial Dan Ketahanan Bangsa," *Jurnal Lemhannas RI* 6, no. 1 (August 15, 2020), https://jurnal.lemhannas.go.id/index.php/jkl/article/view/114.

users less open to diverse perspectives. As a result, self-reflection, acceptance of criticism, and respect for expertise are diminishing, while digital confidence driven by engagement metrics erodes the value of traditional knowledge[3].

According to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center published in 2022, Indonesia has been designated as the most religious country in the world.[4] It has been observed that Indonesians perceive an attachment between faith in God and an awareness of virtuous principles[5]. This highlights a paradox in Indonesia's religious landscape: while the nation is deeply religious, intolerance and violence reveal a gap between ideals and reality. Social media, though capable of spreading tolerance, often perpetuates intolerance due to algorithmic bias and limited visibility of tolerance campaigns, exacerbated the situation. Consequently, social media frequently serves as a platform that worsens polarization instead of promoting dialogue and harmony[6]. For instance, social media may prioritize content promoting religious intolerance, perpetuating harmful stereotypes and discrimination. This creates echo chambers, deepening divides between religious groups and hindering tolerance and understanding.

The Setara Institute documented 171 violations of religious freedom/belief.[7] This figure corresponds closely with the Wahid Foundation's findings (2019) of 183 cases[8]. The types of action are numerous include discrimination, prejudice, hate speech, and the rejection of buildings of the house of worship[9]. The figures represent documented incidents, the actual number of incidents is likely much higher. The impact of these violations goes beyond just numbers, as they have real-life consequences for individuals and communities. Discrimination and hate speech can lead to a feeling of fear, isolation, and even physical harm for those targeted. The rejection of the building of worship can prevent religious groups from practicing their faith freely and openly.

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[3] Kamilia Hamidah, "Seizing Public Digital Dominance; The Phenomenon of Mainstream Islamic Media Digital Battle," *Mu'ashir: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam* 1, no. 1 (2023): 1–12.

[4] Pew Research Center, "Key Findings from the Global Religious Futures Project," 2022, https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2022/12/21/key-findings-from-the-global-religious-futures-project/.

[5] Christine Tamir, Aidan Connaughton, and Ariana Monique Salazar, *The Global God Divide*, July 20, 2020.

[6] Rahmawati, "Risiko Polarisasi Algoritma Media Sosial: Kajian Terhadap Kerentanan Sosial Dan Ketahanan Bangsa."

[7] SETARA Institute, *Pandemi Lahan Subur Diskriminasi Dan Intoleransi*, 2021, https://setara-institute.org/pandemi-lahan-subur-diskriminasi-dan-intoleransi/.

[8] Subhi Azhari and Gamal Ferdhi, *Laporan Tahunan Kemerdekaan Beragama/Berkeyakinan (KBB) Di Indonesia* (Jakarta, August 2019).

[9] Wahid Institute, *Meredam Kebencian Satu Dekade Pemantauan Siar Kebencian Keagamaan Di Indonesia*, ed. Junaidi Simun, 1st ed. (Jakarta, 2020).

Despite the large number of violations, Indonesia also has a high percentage of positive pluralistic practices. In 2019, the Wahid Foundation documented 560 outstanding examples including 820 initiatives. The promotion of tolerance emerged as the predominant practice (267), worked by anti-radicalism/deradicalization initiatives (255 actions), tolerance practices (154 actions), prevention and resolution of religious/belief conflicts (119 actions), non-discriminatory policies (44), law enforcement (16), policy advocacy (9), and religious/belief advocacy (6 actions). These initiatives have helped in promoting tolerance and understanding among different religious belief groups in Indonesia.

The increase initiative on tolerance promotion and anti-radicalism initiatives is attributed to several factors, among them is the increasing number of internet users. In 2022, We Are Social documented that the number of internet users in Indonesia reached 204.7 million. This amount increased significantly by 54.25% from 2018[10]. The growth in the number of internet users corresponds with the rise in social media users. In 2022, the count of social media users reached 191.4 million, up from 120 million in 2018 makes Indonesia among the largest social media users in the world.

Secondly, the age of social media introduces a new paradigm in case enforcement, namely viral culture. A case will get more attention if it becomes the primary topic of discourse on social media. Among social media users, there exists a phrase: *'no viral, no justice'*[11]. Consequently, numerous incidents are amplified on social media prior to being reported to the police. Moreover, the extensive population of users enables the rapid and widespread transmission of information via social media to diverse audiences.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are among the most effective entities in fostering the culture of tolerance in society. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) frequently referred as civil society organizations (CSOs). Several challenges exist within the realm of Civil Society Organizations, one of which is to the advancement of tolerance[12]. This Civil Society Organizations group significantly aids the government in executing community-related initiatives, particularly in fostering a peaceful and harmonious religious environment.

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[10] Cindy Mutia Annur, "Ada 204,7 Juta Pengguna Internet Di Indonesia Awal 2022," *Databoks*.

[11] Julia Magdalena Wuysang et al., "Viral Justice: Law Enforcement in the Social Media Era," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah dan Masyarakat* 24, no. 1 (June 20, 2024): 1–16.

[12] Azhari and Ferdhi, *Laporan Tahunan Kemerdekaan Beragama/Berkeyakinan (KBB) Di Indonesia*.

The existence of new media cultures particularly the rapid users of social media necessitate that civil society organizations involved in tolerance issues need to modify their efforts, as social media is now seen as the primary platform for disseminating ideas, rather than only an entertainment medium. Furthermore, some instances of hatred and violence justified by religion originate from social media.

There has been extensive past research regarding media narratives on tolerance and intolerance. Sulastiana asserts that media contributes to the dissemination of narratives associated with religious intolerance[13]. Additionally, social media serves as a mechanism to monopolize intolerant religious interpretations[14]. Research conducted by PPIM indicates that conservative ideologies dominate religious narratives on social media, representing 67.20% of the social media content. In contrast, moderate narratives represent only 22.20% of social media content[15]. This study also explores accounts that share both positive and negative ideas.

Although the prevailing disparity between conservative and moderate religious narratives is still dominant, but many efforts has been initiated in support to the promotion of tolerance through multiple social media platforms, including YouTube[16]. This research examines Husein Jafar's use of social media to advocate for religious tolerance. Two organizations that advocate for tolerance, Sabang Merauke[17] and the Gusdurian Network[18] expressing this value on their Instagram accounts. These organizations use their platforms to share stories of interfaith cooperation and understanding, and promote dialogue between different religious communities. By highlighting positive examples of religious tolerance, they are working to counteract the negative narratives that often dominate social media discussions.

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[13] Sulastiana Sulastiana, "Peran Media Dalam Penyebaran Intoleransi Agama," *Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian* 11, no. 2 (April 10, 2019): 8.

[14] Hamidah, "Seizing Public Digital Dominance; The Phenomenon of Mainstream Islamic Media Digital Battle."

[15] Iim Halimatusa'diyah, *Beragama Di Dunia Maya: Media Sosial Dan Pandangan Keagamaan Di Indonesia*, 2020.

[16] Zihni Ainul Haq, "Narasi Toleransi Beragama Pada Akun Youtube 'Jeda Nulis,'" *PUSAKA* 10, no. 1 (July 5, 2022).

[17] Tri Susanto, "Kampanye, Media Sosial Dan Toleransi (Studi Kasus Kampanye Gerakan Sabang Merauke Dalam Membangun Sikap Toleransi Beragama Melalui Media Sosial)," *Mediamorfosa : Transformasi Media Komunikasi di Indonesia* (2017): 365–386.

[18] M. Ardini Khaerun Rijaal, "Fenomena Intoleransi Antar Umat Beragama Serta Peran Sosial Media Akun Instagram Jaringan Gusdurian Indonesia Dalam Menyampaikan Pesan Toleransi," *Syiar | Jurnal Komunikasi dan Penyiaran Islam* 1, no. 2 (December 5, 2021): 103–132.

Many prior studies demonstrate limitations by focusing exclusively on a single social media account or entity/organization. Research on networks, particularly those involving civil society organizations, has been limited. There are gap studies particularly related to several research question gaps, for example, in what ways do civil society organizations employ social media to foster tolerance? Are there any connections between the tolerance-promoting narrative put forth by various CSOs? A research study is required to address these questions, because understanding social media's impact on CSOs promoting tolerance is crucial.

This study uses Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), combining quantitative network analysis and qualitative text analysis to examine message content and actors involved. Statements are the primary data, analyzed to understand tolerance message dynamics. Data was collected from observations of Indonesian CSOs' Instagram accounts. This research aims to address two primary questions: what do the maps of civil society organizations promoting interfaith tolerance narratives on Instagram look like? What is the look of the networks of civil society organizations and the interfaith tolerance narratives promoted through this platform? This research seeks to further understand the digital communication strategies employed by CSOs in promoting messages of tolerance, particularly in the context of algorithmic challenges and audience segmentation on social media.

Method

This study examines religious tolerance narratives on social media using a descriptive analytical approach combined with a case study methodology. It maps Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and analysis their religious tolerance narratives on Instagram, chosen for its popularity and publicly accessible data. A mixed-methods approach integrates qualitative and quantitative methodologies to address challenges like sample bias and technological influences.

The research analysis data from 25 CSO-managed Instagram accounts in Indonesia, each with at least 1,000 followers, covering religious tolerance narratives from January 2019 to December 2023, as most CSO accounts were established around 2018, making this timeframe relevant. Secondary data sources include other social media platforms, books, journal articles, and online news media.

The research process consists of several phases: (1) Pre-field stage, involving research tool development, (2) Data collection, aligned with research objectives, (3) Data presentation using Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), (4) Data

analysis, and (5) Report writing. The study employs textual analysis and non-participant observation to examine Instagram content conveying tolerance messages such as *empathy, tasamuh, religious moderation, openness, harmony, peace, and diversity.* Data is tabulated statistically, covering CSO names, Instagram join year, bio, followers, total posts, tolerance narratives, dominant keywords, and percentage of tolerance-related content over five years. The CSO with the highest tolerance content undergoes further DNA analysis to understand narrative production and key actors.

Data collection techniques include textual analysis, non-participant observation, and documentation of CSO social media narratives across Instagram, Facebook, TikTok, and websites. Structured and in-depth interviews with CSO account administrators and platform users provide additional insights, conducted both online and offline. Method triangulation ensures data validity, following Miles and Huberman's interactive model[19] of data gathering, reduction, display, and conclusion formulation.

Result and Discussion
Civil Society Organization (CSO) and the Digital Dynamic of Tolerance

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia exhibit numerous characteristics, including associations, trade unions, think tanks, and communities addressing a range of topics including democracy, education, health, economics, religion, and women's empowerment. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) serve as advocates, facilitators, and researchers, with a predominant majority (88%) including non-members[20]. The emergence of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia started in the 1970s, coinciding with the worldwide democracy movement. During the New Order period, Civil Society Organizations were often weakened by official persecution[21]. During the 1990s and early 2000s, civil society organizations (CSOs) expanded significantly, particularly those dedicated to promoting tolerance and interfaith dialogue, such LKiS and the Wahid Institute. Following the reform era, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) gained greater access to public policies and

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[19] Matthew B. Miles and Michael A. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 1994).

[20] USAID, *Assessment Report Civil Society Organizations in Indonesia*, July 2018.

[21] Ainur Rofieq, "Civil Society Pasca Negara Birokratik Otoritarian Orde Baru," *Jurnal Kybernan* 3 (March 1, 2012).

assumed a more significant political role[22]. This period also saw the emergence of anti-democratic groups that promoted intolerance and extreme views [23].

The INFID research (2021) indicates that Millennials and Generation Z show high cultural tolerance, supporting diversity and cross-cultural engagement. Nevertheless, they often demonstrate conservatism in religious activities, preserving the group's identity by restricting knowledge about *the others*. Social media plays a significant role in distributing both tolerance and intolerance narrative. The digital age, referred to by McLuhan as the Global Village, illustrates that advancements in communication technology have transformed the globe into an extensive community. According to the most recent statistics from APJII (2024), Indonesia has 221 million internet users, reflecting a penetration rate of 79.5%, with 82.6% in underprivileged regions. Social media is the primary motivation for internet use, with 47.6% of individuals in disadvantaged areas connecting with it for social networking purposes.

Social media serves to enhance social connection, facilitate the distribution of information, and influence individuals' beliefs and actions, particularly with tolerance and intolerance. This platform promotes the dissemination of tolerance narratives, although it also has the capacity to propagate disinformation and hate speech that provoke confrontations[24].

Linguistic tolerance signifies the respect for diversity, while in essence, it embodies the acknowledgement of other perspectives. Prominent individuals such as Alissa Wahid and civil society organizations like the Wahid Foundation have used social media to disseminate the story of tolerance via campaign and hashtags #moderasiberagama, #beragamaitukita. Conversely, social media worsens intolerance through the distribution of falsehoods and hate narratives, particularly concerning religion[25]. The INFID poll (2020) indicates the rise of intolerance among youth despite their normative acceptance of tolerance. This tendency gets worse by discriminatory regulations in regions that encourage intolerance, with 227 intolerant policies identified since 2000, the most in West Java (INFID, 2021).

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[22] Cornelis Lay, "The Emerging of New Democratic Space: CSOs and Parliament in Post-Soeharto Indonesia," *PCD Journal* 5, no. 1 (July 6, 2017): 1.

[23] Setara Institute, *SIARAN PERS KONDISI KEBEBASAN BERAGAMA/BERKEYAKINAN (KBB) 2022* (Jakarta, January 31, 2023).

[24] Rahmawati, "Risiko Polarisasi Algoritma Media Sosial: Kajian Terhadap Kerentanan Sosial Dan Ketahanan Bangsa."

[25] Agussalaim Burhanuddin et al., "Socio-Religious Preferences of the Indonesian Youths in Digital and Everyday Life," *Journal of Southwest Jiaotong University* 56, no. 3 (June 30, 2021): 18–31.

On the other hand, research shows that conservative narratives are more dominant on social media (67.2%) than moderate (22.2%) and liberal (6.1%) narratives[26]. Conservatism tends to use religious issues to reinforce intolerance and radicalization, while moderate messages face the challenge of becoming more viral. A survey by PPIM UIN Jakarta (2017) revealed that the internet affects intolerant attitudes in Millennials and Gen Z, with 54.37% seeking religious knowledge from social media. It highlights the importance in strengthening tolerance the narrative in the digital space to address social polarization and extremism.

Thus, Indonesian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have played a vital role in promoting tolerance and inclusivity, adapting to shifting political and social contexts. While social media offers a platform to amplify messages of diversity, it also enables the spread of intolerance and radical narratives. Therefore, CSOs must strengthen their digital strategies, prioritize impactful and inclusive content, and collaborate to counter polarization, ensuring the promotion of democratic values and social cohesion in the digital era.

Exploring Civil Society Organization Instagram Accounts

Indonesia, as a nation with a diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic heritage, encounters significant obstacles in its efforts to preserve social harmony. The function of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is crucial in this case, as it promotes the creation of harmony and reinforces the values of tolerance. In this instance, the researchers selected these 25 CSOs based on their strategic role in addressing the social challenges that Indonesia is currently facing, including the rising intolerance, discrimination, and religious or cultural-based conflicts. These organizations were selected for their distinctive contributions in propagating the principles of diversity and tolerance, particularly on social media.

Instagram is one of the primary social media platforms through which civil society organizations (CSOs) implement tolerance campaigns. The platform facilitates the dissemination of messages in a visual, interactive, and interesting way, thereby broadening the audience, particularly the younger generation. This CSO has effectively established a dynamic and inclusive dialogue space for the promotion of mutual respect and solidarity by utilizing Instagram's features. The profiles of 25 CSOs on Instagram are presented below, organized by the number of followers, the year of Instagram use, the number of posts, and the number of tolerance narratives published between 2019 and 2023.

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[26] Halimatusa'diyah, *Beragama Di Dunia Maya: Media Sosial Dan Pandangan Keagamaan Di Indonesia*.

Table 1.
Profile of 25 Civil Society Organizations on Instagram

No	Nama CSO	Instagram Account	Total Followers	Year Join	Number of Posts (2019-2023)	Number of Tolerance Narrative (2019-2023)
1	Yayasan SATUNAMA Yogyakarta	@yayasansatunama	4501	Juli 2016	360	31
2	Setara Institute	@setara_institute	7958	Agustus 2018	543	391
3	Toleransi.id	@toleransi.id	34.4k	Januari 2018	966	321
4	Wahid Foundation	@wahidfoundation	23.5k	Mei 2015	711	471
5	Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community (YIPC) Jogja	@yipcjogja	1489	Mei 2016	310	271
6	Komunitas Mosintuwu	@mosintuwu	3152	Mei 2016	220	73
7	Lembaga Advokasi & Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan	@lapar_sulsel	1438	Desember 2018	180	115
8	Lembaga Kajian Keislaman dan Kemasyarakatan (LK3) Banjarmasin	@lk3banjarmasin	1273	September 2016	219	58
9	Peace Generation Indonesia	@peacegenid	50.9k	Desember 2014	825	331
10	Peaceleader indo	@peaceleader_indo	2842	November 2018	1551	465
11	Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial	@yayasan_lkis	3665	Agustus 2019	984	278
12	Maarif Institute	@maarifinstitute	11.9k	September 2016	336	91
13	Komunitas Peace Maker Kupang	@komunitas_peace _maker_kupang	2323	Februari 2017	902	418
14	Muslimah Reformis Foundation	@muslimahreformis foundation	7407	Agustus 2018	1515	178
15	PUSAD Paramadina	@pusadparamadina	3270	Januari 2018	234	61
16	Kabarsejuk	@kabarsejuk	16.8k	Mei 2018	1260	571
17	Sabang Merauke	@sabangmerauke	36,1k	Desember 2013	582	292
18	Jaringan	@jaringangusdurian	156 k	Februari	3385	1639

				2016		
	Gusdurian Indonesia			2016		
19	Kawan Bhinneka	@kawanbhinneka	2331	September 2018	158	134
20	ICRP	@sahabat_icrp4peace	3530	November 2014	656	594
21	Intitut Dialog Antar Iman di Indonesia/ Intitute for Interfaith Dialogue in Indonesia (Interfidei) DIAN Interfidei	@dianinterfidei	5985	Agustus 2018	827	797
22	AMAN Indonesia	@amanindonesia	6886	November 2016	1750	852
23	Fahmina Institute	@fahminainstitute	5118	Mei 2016	1354	215
24	Perkumpulan Flower Aceh	@floweraceh	2729	November 2014	1032	88
25	Srikandi Lintas iman	@srilijogja	4083	Desember 2016	1189	301

Based on the presentation of the data above, there is a significant variation in the level of digital popularity or reach among these organizations. The Gusdurian Indonesia[27] network has the highest number of followers, more than 150 thousand followers, indicating that the organization has great traction on social media and has the potential to reach a wide audience to convey Gus Dur's message of tolerance, diversity, and inclusive values.

On the other hand, Kabar Sejuk[28] and Sabang Merauke[29] also have significant number of followers, around 36 thousand and 16.8 thousand, respectively. This shows that they can attract public attention on a considerable scale through the narrative of diversity and tolerance on their digital contents. Both organizations seem to be leveraging social media as a strategic platform to spread their message. However, several other CSOs have a much smaller number of followers, even below 10 thousand, such as Mosintuwu[30], LK3 Banjarmasin[31], and Flower Aceh[32]. This may indicate that they are facing

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[27] Jaringan Gusdurian Indonesia, "@jaringangusdurian," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Jaringangusdurian/*.

[28] Kabar Sejuk, "@kabarsejuk," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Kabarsejuk/*, accessed December 28, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/kabarsejuk/.

[29] Sabang Merauke, "@sabangmerauke," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Sabangmerauke/*.

[30] Institut Mosintuwu, "@mosintuwu," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Mosintuwu/*.

[31] Lembaga Kajian Keislaman & Kemasyarakatan, "@lk3banjarmasin," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Lk3banjarmasin/*.

[32] Perkumpulan Flower Aceh, "@floweraceh," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Floweraceh/*.

challenges in expanding their digital reach or focusing on more specific local contexts. Despite having a smaller number of followers, CSO like Mosintuwu, LK3 Banjarmasin, and Flower Aceh play a crucial role in advocating marginalized communities and amplifying their voices, although they may not have the same level of online presence as larger CSOs, their impact in their respective local context cannot be underestimated.

Follower counts reflect factors like issue focus, communication strategies, and target audience. High-follower CSOs often address national or universal themes like religious pluralism, while smaller ones focus on local issues. Social media become crucial for spreading CSO messages; large-follower group have broader reach, but smaller ones remain impactful by engaging local communities and driving grassroots change.

Meanwhile, based on data on the number of posts on Instagram of civil society organizations (CSOs) during the 2019–2023 period, the Indonesian Gusdurian Network is the most active with the number of posts exceeding 3,000 uploads. This reflects their consistency in producing content and high engagement on social media. This activity is likely to support their success in reaching a wide audience and reinforcing the messages of tolerance, diversity, and inclusion.

On the other hand, several other organizations such as Sabang Merauke[33], Kabar Sejuk[34], and Peace Generation[35] also show a high level of activity, with number of posts in the range of 1000-2000 uploads. This consistent activity shows that they are using social media to spread their campaigns on an ongoing basis, even though their follower reach is not as large as the Indonesian Gusdurian Network[36]. Meanwhile, there are several CSOs with a much lower number of posts, such as Mosintuwu[37], LK3 Banjarmasin[38], and Flower Aceh[39], which had less than 500 uploads over the past five years. This could indicate that they have limited resources to produce content consistently or may prioritize other platform to reach audience.

Consistency in social media communication is a key factor in building an audience and strengthening engagement, although a high volume of posts does not always correlate directly with an organization's impact or reach. Data also

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[33] Sabang Merauke, "@sabangmerauke."
[34] Kabar Sejuk, "@kabarsejuk."
[35] PeaceGeneration Indonesia, "@peacegenid," *https://www.instagram.com/peacegenid/* (n.d.).
[36] Jaringan Gusdurian Indonesia, "@jaringangusdurian."
[37] Institut Mosintuwu, "@mosintuwu."
[38] Lembaga Kajian Keislaman & Kemasyarakatan, "@lk3banjarmasin."
[39] Perkumpulan Flower Aceh, "@floweraceh."

highlights differences in strategies and capacities among CSOs in utilizing social media. For instance, highly active organizations like the Indonesian Gusdurian Network excel in audience building through frequent uploads. Meanwhile, organizations with lower activity remain relevant and influential by focusing on content quality and collaborating with larger organizations.

CSO Network Mapping Overview

This discussion concentrates on categorizing Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) according to their classifications and focal areas, especially those tackling problems related to tolerance. This network map results from the categorization of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) that concentrate on topics closely associated with tolerance. This methodology seeks to discover diverse stakeholders, organizations, and projects engaged in intersecting domains, including pluralism, religious moderation, peace, inclusion, and diversity. This mapping explores not only the presence of organizations but also the interrelations and interactions among them, so constructing a comprehensive representation of the cooperative environment that fosters the growth of tolerance. This categorization enables comprehension of each CSO's work emphasis, the interconnections across organizations, and strategic do mains that may be cultivated to promote the tolerance agenda within society.

The researcher's finding indicate that the examination of the network map reveals the strategic function of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in fostering tolerance in Indonesia. Civil society organization, such as Gusdurian Network[40], Wahid Foundation[41], and DIAN Interfidei[42], are crucial in tolerance advocacy network, characterized by a wide variety of narratives, comprehensive problem coverage, and sustained engagement across several platforms, particularly on social media. The CSOs engaged a younger demographic on Instagram by using visual narratives of tolerance, including infographic and campaign movies.

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[40] Jaringan Gusdurian Indonesia, "@jaringangusdurian."

[41] Wahid Foundation, "@wahidfoundation," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Wahidfoundation/*.

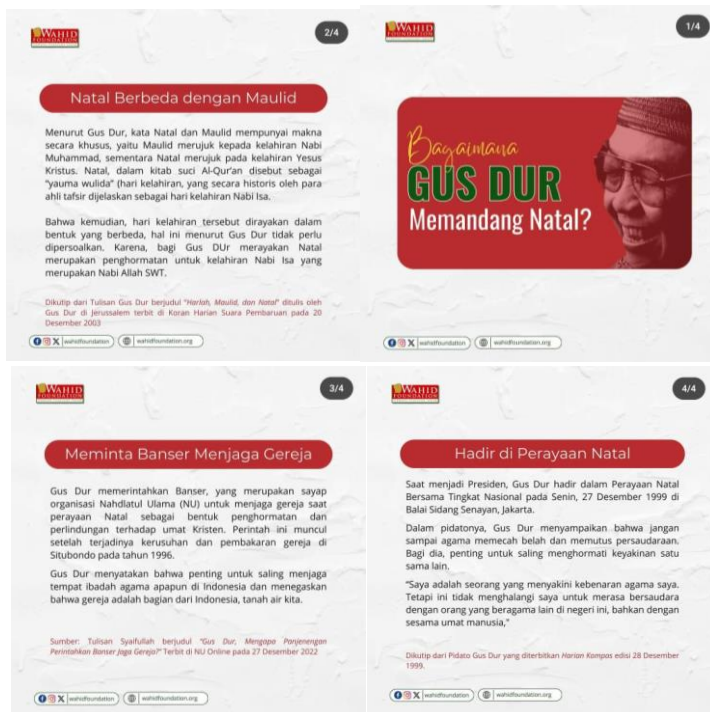[42] Institut DIAN/Interfidei, "@dianinterfidei," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Dianinterfidei/*.

Figure 1.
Infographics Instagram Content from @wahidfoundation

Furthermore, cooperative contacts among CSOs constitute a crucial component of this network. Numerous civil society organizations, like the Setara Institute and Kabar Sejuk[43], often disseminate narratives and engage in collaborative initiatives that promote the principles of diversity. This partnership broadens the dissemination of tolerance message and enhances its societal effect. Simultaneously, local civil society organizations, such as Mosintuwu[44] in Central Sulawesi and the Kupang Peace Maker Community[45] in East Nusa Tenggara, are crucial in fostering peace within their communities, exemplifying the efficacy of the region-based strategy.

The use of social media, particularly Instagram, illustrates the disparity in impact across Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Organizations with a wide followers, like Peace Generation Indonesia[46] and Sabang Merauke[47], could become opinion leaders in expanding tolerance message. Conversely, CSOs

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[43] Kabar Sejuk, "@kabarsejuk."
[44] Institut Mosintuwu, "@mosintuwu."
[45] Komunitas Peace Maker Kupang (KOMPAK), "@komunitas_peace_maker_kupang," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Komunitas_peace_maker_kupang/*.
[46] PeaceGeneration Indonesia, "@peacegenid."
[47] Sabang Merauke, "@sabangmerauke."

with limited reach maintain a crucial role by providing unique and contextual narratives, such as tolerance education rooted on local religion and culture. The role of civil society organizations network map in promoting tolerance demonstrates significant synergies across diverse groups at both national and local levels. While every civil society organization (CSO) has its own unique approach, they work in tandem to establish a more inclusive environment and promote social harmony in Indonesia.

Figure 2.
Photo Content Caption @sabangmerauke

The map of the Civil Society Group (CSO) network illustrates the differing methodologies used by each group, depending upon the specific problem at their disposal and the attributes of their target audience. Organizations like Kabar Sejuk[48] and ICRP[49] not only engage with social media but also actively criticize state policies regarded discriminatory to the minority group.

This method shows the function of CSOs as advocates who promote the message of tolerance and shape the development of more inclusive policies at both national and local levels. Furthermore, the effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in constructing tolerance narrative is evident in their ability to use the local environment and have a more significant effect. For instance, Mosintuwu[50] in Central Sulawesi employs a culture-centric strategy,

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[48] Kabar Sejuk, "@kabarsejuk."
[49] Indonesian Conference on Religion and Peace (ICRP), "@sahabat_icrp4peace," *Https://Www.Instagram.Com/Sahabat_icrp4peace/*.
[50] Institut Mosintuwu, "@mosintuwu."

while the Kupang Peace Maker Community[51] blends the principles of tolerance with indigenous custom. This strategy fosters trust throughout the community, integrating tolerance into a strong local cultural identity.

The involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs) in tolerance education has been a significant component of this network. Organization like Peace Generation Indonesia[52] and Sabang Merauke[53] provide educational initiatives targeting youth, including leadership training and cultural exchange to cultivate the principle of diversity from an early age. These initiatives cultivate community-level agents of change who disseminate the message of tolerance within their contexts. Through education, CSOs enhance their immediate influence while fostering lasting advocacy for a future culture of tolerance. With this variety of strategies, CSO networks have potential to strengthen social harmony in Indonesia yet concern such as social media polarization and rising intolerance must be addressed together.

Social Networks of Civil Society Organizations: From Radial to Interlocking Networks

This chapter explores CSO dynamics by analyzing actors, problems, and narratives to identify interaction patterns. It examines three dimensions—narratives and keywords, communication networks, and social network analysis—to understand the structure and dynamics of the tolerance narrative developed by CSOs.

The interconnection of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is evident in the narratives used in the material utilized for their social media campaigns. These terms signify main problems, including tolerance, women's leadership, environmental concerns, education, democracy, and peace. The similarity of these phrases illustrates the commonalities of CSOs' interests and how these concerns serve as connections within their networks, emphasizing two primary patterns: the *Radial Personal Network* pattern and the *Interlocking Personal Network* pattern. The Radial Personal Network pattern highlights a relational framework characterized by little integration, whereby linkages among participants are restricted to specific topics, resulting in a mostly segmented structure. Conversely, Interlocking Personal Networks exhibit a significant degree of integration, characterized by greater strength connections through persons or

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[51] Komunitas Peace Maker Kupang (KOMPAK), "@komunitas_peace_maker_kupang."
[52] PeaceGeneration Indonesia, "@peacegenid."
[53] Sabang Merauke, "@sabangmerauke."

organizations. This trend emerges from involvement in the same large project or network[54].

To enhance the study, the Social Network study (SNA)[55] methodology is used to examine the network of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) by means of the narratives created on the Instagram accounts of each CSO under study. The indicators comprise the *connectedness* indicator, which assesses the network's interconnectedness based on the similarity of shared figures or projects, and reciprocity, which indicates the degree to which network actors maintain mutual relationships through collaborative issues or advocacy. Furthermore, *density* quantifies the strength of the association by assessing the similarity of the concerns and the virality of the communicated message. *Centrality* serves as a crucial metric for identifying essential characters or concerns, such as religious tolerance, which is the network's focal point. Simultaneously, *betweenness* emphasizes the function of people or organizations as pivotal hubs that link various concerns or establish intersectionality. Through this analysis, we can see that CSOs not only operate as independent entities, but also as part of an interconnected communication network.

The results of the analysis on Instagram data were strengthened by in-depth interviews from media team managers and also program managers from eight CSOs who became the key informants of this study, namely, Wahid Foundation (WF)[56], Srikandi Lintas Iman (Srili)[57], Lembaga Advokasi Perdamaian dan Rekonsiliasi (LAPAR)[58], Kabar Sejuk[59], LKiS[60], Gusdurian[61], and Youth Interfaith Peace Center (YIPC)[62] and Fahmina Institute[63] in promoting tolerance through a unique narrative approach. The selection of key informants as an in-depth study of the CSO map is based on the popularity of the account, the number of followers, the frequency of posts and the reach summarized in the discussion of interview analysis as follows.

From the results of in-depth interviews, in the aspect of the connection of CSOs with their narratives, each CSO has a very close relationship with the

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[54] Everett M Rogers and D Lawrence Kincaid, *Communication Networks Toward a New Paradigm for Research* (New York: The Free Press A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1981).
[55] John Scott, *Social Network Analysis; A Handbook*, Second Edition. (London: SAGE Publication, 1991).
[56] SK, "Interview with Wahid Foundation," *15 November 2024*.
[57] AR, "Interview with Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI)," *5 November 2024*.
[58] MIT, "Interview with Lembaga Advokasi & Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan," *30 October 2024*.
[59] I, "Interview with Kabar Sejuk," *5 November 2024*.
[60] ALA, "Interview with Lembaga Kajian Islam Sosial (LKiS)," *5 November 2024*.
[61] S, "Interview with Gusdurian Network," *5 November 2024*.
[62] AZ, Interview with YIPC," *1 November 2024*.
[63] ZA, Interview with Fahmina Institute," *28 October 2024*.

narrative they carry, these values reflect the core values and goals of the organization. The Wahid Foundation, for example, made the Nine Values of Gus Dur as the main foundation of their tolerance campaign on social media.[64] Where the WF narrative emphasizes inclusivity and humanity with several cross-disciplinary issues that intersect, for example, gender issues, disability, and environmental issues to expand the reach of a more diverse and wider audience.

While Srili raised interfaith dialogue, solidarity, and women's empowerment as core values realized through a storytelling-based Instagram campaign.[65] Cross-issue networks, such as YIPC, Gusdurian, and Srili integrate political and environmental education issues into their narratives to expand the relevance of the message. LAPAR, on the other hand, prioritizes inter-division collaboration in designing a narrative of religious tolerance that is relevant to current issues.[66] These narratives are packaged in a variety of social media formats, such as microblogs and videos, to ensure the message of tolerance reach to diverse audiences. Then, Kabar Sejuk focuses on criticism on discriminatory policies, combining a narrative of tolerance with issues of diversity, gender, and human rights. They strengthen the narrative through collaborations with CSOs such as collaborating with the SETARA Institute and YLBHI.[67] Meanwhile, LKiS focuses its narrative on religious freedom and social inclusion, seeking to reach a young audience with a relevant campaign approach. Their narrative is enriched by collaborations with organizations such as Gusdurian and the UGM Democracy Lab.[68] The Gusdurian network brings the legacy of Gus Dur's thought into their narratives, highlighting the inclusivity and diversity of Indonesia. Meanwhile, YIPC integrates scriptural teachings and interfaith dialogue to build a strong narrative of tolerance.

The above description shows that the development of an effective narrative of tolerance is highly dependent on the selection of appropriate keywords, icons, and communication strategies. By combining the core values of the organization with relevant current issues, CSO's can effectively reach a wider audience which can indirectly strengthen public awareness and acceptance of the values of inclusivity and diversity.

CSOs strategically select keywords to shape their tolerance campaigns. The Wahid Foundation emphasizes "humanity" and "Gus Dur's Values" to reflect

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[64] SK, "Interview with Wahid Foundation," 15 November 2024.

[65] AR, "Interview with Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI)," *5 November 2024*.

[66] MIT, "Interview with Lembaga Advokasi & Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan," *30 Oktober 2024*.

[67] I, "Interview with Kabar Sejuk," *5 November 2024*.

[68] ALA, "Interview with Lembaga Kajian Islam Sosial (LKiS)," *5 November 2024*.

Gus Dur's intellectual and moral legacy, while Srili focuses on core values like "Women Across Faith" and "Interfaith Dialogue." LAPAR strengthens visibility with "Indonesia Rumah Bersama" and "Religious Moderation," aligning with its mission. Kabar Sejuk promotes inclusivity through "Safe Space" and "KBB for All," making the message widely accessible. LKiS integrates internal hashtags with trending topics to maximize social media reach. Gusdurian fosters a diversity narrative with "Proud to be an Indonesian Muslim," reinforcing local identity. YIPC highlights interfaith dialogue with "Diverse Is Us," emphasizing unity in diversity.

In addition to this, the linkage of keyword icons and visualization also plays an important role in reinforcing the narrative. In practice, the Wahid Foundation is identical in using the image of Gus Dur to emphasize the values of tolerance on their contents. Srili uses interfaith figures, such as pastors and priests, as role models in the campaign. LAPAR relies on senior organizations to build a narrative network through their writings and citations. Kabar Sejuk does not put a single person first but uses visual content such as microblogs and infographics to create an inclusive message. LKiS amplifies the narrative through infographics and reels, while Gusdurian engages influencers such as Habib Jafar and Kalis Mardiasih to convey a message of tolerance in a creative way. YIPC combines microblogs, reels, and comics to convey interfaith messages in an engaging style.

In a strategy to reach a unique and diverse audience, each CSO tailors the narrative to the needs and characteristics of the audience. The Wahid Foundation combines collaboration with grassroots communities, emotional responses to current issues, and communicative content design. Srili focuses on video-based storytelling and collaboration between communities to increase engagement. LAPAR uses social media features, such as hashtags and reposts, to expand the reach of their campaigns. Kabar Sejuk highlights quick responses to popular issues and cross-platform collaboration as key strategies. LKiS adopts popular content formats, such as reels, and ensures that the narrative reaches the audience before going viral. Gusdurian combines education with counter-narratives to fight intolerance, while YIPC links modern issues such as climate change and gender with a biblical perspective.

In the practice of building a narrative of tolerance, each CSO faces unique challenges in building a narrative of tolerance. Wahid Foundation had to fight against the echo chamber where most of the audience were Gus Dur lovers,

making it difficult to reach out to the new group.[69] Srili faced the challenge of choosing a wise theme without muddying the conflict.[70] LAPAR, Kabar Sejuk and Fahmina Institute face limited human resources and competition from a more aggressive narrative of intolerance.[71] LKiS strives to increase the relevance of content among a younger audience that is more interested in entertainment.[72] Gusdurian faces challenges in collaborating with organizations that have different agendas,[73] while YIPC often receives threats and hateful comments that interfere with their efforts.[74]

Apart from the dynamics faced by each CSO in building a narrative of tolerance, in general, the successful practices of various CSOs in tolerance campaigns show the importance of value-based strategies. For example, the Wahid Foundation recorded high engagement through responses to issues such as the destruction of houses of worship. Srili managed to go viral with an interfaith dialogue campaign that attracted media attention. LAPAR sparked public discussion through local issues in South Sulawesi, while Kabar Sejuk recorded a significant increase in social media followers through campaigns such as "Ruang Aman" (Safe Space). LKiS managed to increase the visibility of KBB's narrative through content consistency, while Gusdurian and YIPC expanded their impact through creative collaborations and interfaith campaigns.

It can be concluded that prominent Indonesian CSOs employ diverse strategies to promote tolerance on social media. Through keywords, narrative icons, and collaborations, groups like the Wahid Foundation, Srili, LAPAR, Kabar Sejuk, LKiS, Gusdurian, and YIPC effectively raise public awareness. Despite challenges, their success highlights the importance of value-based messaging, visual innovation, and adapting to current issues for impactful and inclusive tolerance campaigns.

This interview analysis provides an overview of the relationship between civil society organizations (CSOs) with the narrative of tolerance carried out, the narrative model developed, and the network that strengthens the delivery of inclusive messages. The CSOs studied showed diversity in their approaches and

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[69] SK, "Interview with Wahid Foundation," 15 November 2024.

[70] AR, "Interview with Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI)," *5 November 2024*.

[71] MIT, "Interview with Lembaga Advokasi & Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan," *30 Oktober 2024*, I, "Interview with Kabar Sejuk," *5 November 2024* and ZA, Interview with Fahmina Institute," *28 October 2024*.

[72] ALA, "Interview with Lembaga Kajian Islam Sosial (LKiS)," *5 November 2024*.

[73] S, "Interview with Gusdurian Network," *5 November 2024*.

[74] AZ, Interview with YIPC," *1 November 2024*.

strategies, but they had similarities in building narratives based on the values of justice, diversity, and peace.

CSOs shape narratives aligned with their identity and core values. The Wahid Foundation promotes "tolerance" and "humanity" through momentum-based narratives. Srili emphasizes "interfaith dialogue" and "cross-identity solidarity" in community collaborations. Kabar Sejuk highlights "Safe Space" and "KBB" to stress inclusivity. LKiS focuses on "Pluralism" and "Democracy," addressing social and political diversity. Gusdurian counters exclusivity with "Indonesia Rumah Bersama," while YIPC uses scripture-based messaging like "Diverse Is Us." These CSOs also integrate issues like gender, education, disability, and the environment to keep their narratives relevant.

Meanwhile, the types or models of narrative developed by CSOs can be categorized into three models: *diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation*. Where the *diagnosis* is used to explain the root of the intolerance problem. For example, Kabar Sejuk highlights policy discrimination as a key issue that must be addressed, while LKiS highlights the challenges of pluralism in the context of democracy. Meanwhile, the *prognosis model* is shown by CSOs that offer collective solutions. The Wahid Foundation, for example, promotes the training of young leaders to create long-term change. This model is also seen in Srili's public education campaign, which emphasizes the importance of interfaith dialogue to create social harmony. In addition to the two models above, the *motivation model* is used to build audience empathy through interesting storytelling. YIPC utilized a scripture-based campaign, while Srili engaged interfaith leaders to convey a message of tolerance.

In the analysis of the trend of the type or model of the CSO communication network, it can be grouped into two types of connections: namely *Radial Personal Network* and *Interlocking Personal Network*. Srili, which has low network integration, focuses on interfaith dialogue-based campaigns with gender issues as the focus. On the other hand, Gusdurian and the Fahmina Institute show a network with high integration through large projects such as JISRA. These two CSOs have succeeded in combining public advocacy with diversity in a wide network.

The results of the social network analysis show that civil society organizations that have broad connections and strong mutual relationships are able to create a more significant impact in voicing the narrative of tolerance. Strong connectedness is seen in the Wahid Foundation and Gusdurian, which leverage joint projects to expand their influence through collaborations with small communities and international organizations. Meanwhile, Srili and YIPC

leverage local community-based connections to amplify the impact of the tolerance narrative they have built.

Reciprocity or cross-issue collaboration is an important element in the development of a narrative of high tolerance, this is shown by Kabar Sejuk, which supports cross-issue campaigns with other CSOs, as well as LKiS and Gusdurian for example, with a mutually supportive strategy in cross-platform campaigns for KBB and pluralism issues.

Density is seen in civil society organizations such as Gusdurian and Fahmina Institute which show a high network density which is reflected in the involvement of grassroots organizations and creative communities and integrating various issues in their narratives.

Centrality of civil society organizations such as the Wahid Foundation plays a central role by attracting many other organizations to collaborate in Gus Dur's values-based tolerance campaigns, thus strengthening WF's role as the center of the narrative of tolerance. Betweenness can be seen in the success of the Fahmina Institute and Srili which shows the ability of these CSOs to unite various issues into inclusive campaigns, such as gender, education, and democracy issues in a community-based narrative.

In conclusion, Indonesian CSOs effectively build inclusive tolerance narratives through strategic keywords, narrative models, and strong networks. Success relies on cross-community collaboration, issue integration, and adaptation to social change. Despite challenges like limited resources and competing intolerant narratives, CSOs significantly raise public awareness of tolerance.

Conclusion

This study underscores the essential role of Indonesian CSOs in promoting tolerance and inclusivity, particularly through social media platforms like Instagram. Despite facing challenges such as algorithm-driven echo chambers, limited resources, and the spread of radical narratives, organizations like the Gusdurian Network, Wahid Foundation, and Kabar Sejuk have effectively leveraged digital tools. By combining visual storytelling, collaboration, and issue integration, they amplify their influence and engage wider audiences. However, disparities in digital access and participation highlight the need for ongoing capacity building and adaptable strategies to ensure broader outreach and long-term sustainability in promoting diversity and harmony.

CSOs can enhance their impact by using multimedia content, hashtags, and viral trends to boost engagement. Smaller organizations can expand their reach by collaborating with larger networks. Utilizing diverse formats like reels and

infographics can attract younger audiences. Counter-narratives against misinformation, hate speech, and intolerance should incorporate fact-checking and positive storytelling. Beyond digital strategies, CSOs must engage policymakers to advocate for inclusive regulations and combat discriminatory practices.

Policymakers, especially the Ministries of Religious Affairs and Communication, should support research on religious tolerance narratives in social media. The government can aid CSOs through recognition, mentorship, and facilitation -both financial and non-financial support. Strengthening collaboration with CSOs focused on diversity and tolerance will enhance campaigns and align with the government's socio-religious goals.

This study analyzed 25 CSO Instagram accounts, limiting its representation of Indonesia's CSOs and favoring larger organizations. Future research should expand the sample for a more comprehensive view and examine how social media algorithms influence engagement with tolerance narratives. Longitudinal studies can assess the lasting impact of CSO campaigns, while comparative studies across multicultural settings may identify effective strategies. Exploring how Millennials and Gen Z engage with digital narratives can help tailor strategies to sustain their involvement.

Furthermore, examining various platforms, such as TikTok and YouTube, could provide valuable insights into strategies for fostering tolerance across multiple channels. Through these efforts, CSO can maintain a significant impact in promoting social cohesion and combating intolerance within Indonesia's changing digital environment. Ultimately, it is essential for researchers to explore diversity and tolerance issues on social media beyond Instagram, including social media platforms like TikTok, YouTube and Facebook. This would offer valuable insights into effective strategies for promoting tolerance across various digital channels.

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