

POST-TOLERANCE ERA: REPOSITIONING RELIGIOUS HARMONY GOVERNANCE AMID DIGITAL IDENTITY POLARIZATION IN INDONESIA

Theguh Saumantri

UIN Siber Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Indonesia

saumantri.theguh@uinssc.ac.id

Sukron Kamil

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia

sukronkamil@uinjkt.ac.id

Hajam

UIN Siber Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Indonesia

hajam@uinssc.ac.id

Taufik Hidayatulloh

Universitas Paramadina Jakarta, Indonesia

taufik.hidayatullah@paramadina.ac.id

Abstract

The transformation of the digital public sphere has reshaped interreligious interactions and intensified identity polarization, challenging conventional approaches based solely on tolerance and regulation. In plural societies such as Indonesia, these changes influence interfaith dialogue, religious discourse in digital spaces, and social relations among religious communities. The rise of algorithm-driven fragmentation, echo chambers, and the shift of legitimacy from institutional authority to digital influence reflects a significant transformation in religious harmony governance. This study examines how interfaith interaction is patterned within Indonesia's digital public sphere and how religious harmony governance can be repositioned in response to digital identity polarization. Using a descriptive-analytical qualitative approach centred on digital discourse analysis, the study examines 96 posts and 620 user comments collected from X, YouTube, and Facebook between July and December 2025. Data were examined through reduction, coding, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis to identify dominant narratives and meaning-making processes in online religious discussions. The findings indicate that religious harmony can no longer rely solely on stability-oriented approaches based on control and reactive mediation. Instead, it requires collaborative governance that promotes trust-building, digital literacy, and the active participation of multiple stakeholders, including government institutions, religious organizations, civil society, and digital platforms. Building on these findings, the study proposes the post-tolerance era as an analytical framework and develops the Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance model, in which formal tolerance alone is treated as insufficient to sustain social cohesion. Adaptive and participatory mechanisms are needed to respond to the dynamics of digital communication and strengthen constructive interfaith engagement.

Keywords: Post-Tolerance Era, Religious Harmony Governance, Digital Identity Polarization, Collaborative Governance, Digital Literacy.

Abstrak

Transformasi ruang publik digital telah merekonfigurasi pola interaksi antarumat beragama dan memunculkan polarisasi identitas yang tidak lagi dapat direspons secara memadai melalui pendekatan toleransi normatif dan regulasi administratif. Dalam masyarakat majemuk seperti Indonesia, dinamika ini memengaruhi kualitas interaksi lintas iman, baik dalam bentuk dialog antaragama, pertukaran wacana keagamaan di ruang digital, maupun relasi sosial antar komunitas keagamaan. Fragmentasi wacana berbasis algoritma, menguatnya echo chamber, serta pergeseran legitimasi dari otoritas institusional menuju resonansi digital menunjukkan adanya perubahan struktural dalam tata kelola kerukunan. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis pergeseran paradigma kerukunan antarumat beragama menuju apa yang disebut sebagai post-tolerance era serta merumuskan model reposisi tata kelola yang adaptif dalam menghadapi polarisasi identitas digital. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif-analitik dengan fokus pada analisis wacana digital terhadap 96 unggahan utama dan 620 komentar pengguna dari platform X, YouTube, dan Facebook yang dikumpulkan pada Juli-Desember 2025. Analisis data dilakukan melalui tahapan reduksi data, kodefikasi, analisis wacana digital (digital discourse analysis), serta analisis tematik untuk mengidentifikasi pola naratif dan konstruksi makna dalam diskursus keagamaan di ruang digital. Temuan penelitian menjelaskan bahwa kerukunan antarumat beragama tidak lagi dapat dipertahankan melalui model stabilitas berbasis kontrol dan mediasi reaktif semata, melainkan memerlukan governance kolaboratif berbasis jaringan yang menekankan trust-building, literasi digital, serta keterlibatan multi-aktor yang mencakup negara, institusi keagamaan lintas iman, organisasi masyarakat sipil, dan platform digital sebagai arena interaksi antaragama. Berdasarkan temuan tersebut, penelitian ini merumuskan post-tolerance era merupakan fase transformasi konseptual dan mengembangkan model Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance, di mana toleransi formal tidak lagi cukup menjaga kohesi sosial dalam relasi lintas agama, tanpa mekanisme deliberatif yang adaptif terhadap struktur komunikasi digital dan mampu memfasilitasi dialog interfaith yang lebih partisipatif.

Kata kunci: Post-Tolerance Era, Tata Kelola Kerukunan, Polarisasi Identitas Digital, Collaborative Governance, Literasi Digital.

INTRODUCTION

The growing use of digital spaces as arenas of social interaction has transformed patterns of interreligious relations, although these changes have not always contributed positively to religious harmony. The emergence of social media and digital platforms has facilitated the dissemination of inclusive and moderate religious narratives; however, it has simultaneously intensified discourse fragmentation that contributes to religion-based identity polarization (Pratap, 2025). From an academic perspective, the transformation of religious interaction in digital environments reflects not only technological changes in communication but also a fundamental shift in the ways religious identities are constructed, maintained, and negotiated within the public sphere. Consequently, examining the relationship between digitalization, identity polarization, and interreligious harmony has become increasingly significant, both theoretically and practically, within contemporary religious studies.

This phenomenon is particularly evident in plural societies such as Indonesia, where digitally mediated and politicized religious issues can trigger social segregation and exacerbate horizontal tensions among religious communities (Faizin, 2024). The widening gap between the ideal model of interreligious relations characterized by

tolerance, inclusivity, and dialogue and the contemporary digital reality, which tends to reinforce echo chambers and discourse segregation, underscores the need for more comprehensive studies on religious harmony governance. This research focuses on the dynamics of interfaith interaction within Indonesia's digital public sphere, particularly on religious conversations circulating through social media platforms. The unit of analysis consists of digital discourses related to interreligious dialogue, expressions of religious identity, and narratives of harmony and polarization that are produced, circulated, and negotiated through digital platforms.

In religious studies, religious harmony has traditionally been understood as a manifestation of tolerance and moderation that reflects respect for religious diversity and differences in belief systems (Bisri et al., 2024; Qoumas et al., 2024). Aksa & Nurhayati (2020) argue that religious moderation serves as a normative foundation for maintaining a balance between theological commitment and social openness within plural societies. Similarly, Hamdi (2021) emphasizes the importance of interfaith dialogue as a social mechanism for preventing exclusivism and identity-based polarization. In the digital context, Prayogo et al., (2024) further contends that religious moderation must be reinforced through media literacy and the governance of online public spaces to ensure that harmony extends beyond normative rhetoric and is translated into deliberative and inclusive social practices. Religious moderation therefore constitutes a crucial foundation for fostering peaceful social cohesion, particularly in the digital age, where online content plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of religion (Shihab, 2020). Nevertheless, contemporary scholarship indicates that digital technologies have generated structural changes in patterns of religious discourse and interaction. Zaimina (2025) argues that the architecture of digital communication has produced increasingly segmented discursive spaces, while Sasea et al., (2025) demonstrate that algorithm-driven information selection mechanisms contribute to the intensification of identity-based exclusivism.

Previous studies have examined religious moderation and interreligious harmony in both offline and digital contexts. However, a significant conceptual gap remains in understanding emerging forms of interreligious relations shaped by contemporary digital infrastructures. Liu et al., (2025) emphasize the need to reconceptualize narratives of tolerance within digital environments that simultaneously facilitate both inclusive and exclusionary forms of discourse. Similarly Marpuah (2019) demonstrates how religious issues circulating on social media can reinforce social polarization and deepen identity-based divisions. In addition, studies on the role of social media in promoting religious moderation Saehu et al., (2024) and on the influence of digital content on young people's attitudes toward tolerance reveal a consistent pattern of disparity between the normative ideals of tolerance and the often contradictory realities of digital interaction (Handayani & Ali, 2020). Despite these contributions, much of the existing scholarship remains primarily focused on

describing digital religious phenomena or examining social media as a medium for religious outreach and communication. Relatively limited attention has been given to the question of how religious harmony governance should evolve systematically in response to the fragmentation of digital discourse.

Taken together, this body of research demonstrates that tolerance is still treated as a relatively stable normative category, with limited attention to how algorithms, platform logics, and fragmented communication networks reshape the mechanisms through which social cohesion is produced and maintained in digital societies.

The novelty of this study lies in its attempt to reconceptualize the governance of religious harmony in response to digital identity polarization through an approach that is not merely descriptive but also analytical and normative. Rather than applying a pre-existing theoretical framework, this study develops the concept of the *post-tolerance era* inductively from the coded empirical findings of this research and uses it as an analytical lens to interpret the transformation of interreligious relations in contemporary digital societies. This grounding means the concept is best read as an emergent analytical category rather than as a fully developed grand theory. More specifically, the proposed framework explains a condition in which formal tolerance remains socially acknowledged as a normative principle but is no longer sufficient to function as the primary mechanism for sustaining social cohesion due to the fragmentation of digital communication structures. Unlike existing scholarship on tolerance, religious moderation, and religious harmony governance, this analytical framework highlights transformations in communication structures and sources of social legitimacy within digital environments as key factors shaping contemporary interreligious relations.

The primary objective of this study is to analyse how the governance of religious harmony can be repositioned and reformulated within the context of contemporary digital identity polarization, including its policy implications and empirically as well as theoretically relevant adaptive governance strategies. This objective is guided by two research questions: first, how is interfaith interaction patterned within Indonesia's digital public sphere, and to what extent does this pattern indicate identity polarization? Second, how should religious harmony governance be repositioned to respond to this polarization? This study integrates digital evidence with contemporary social theories to demonstrate the transformation of interreligious interactions from a framework of traditional tolerance toward a more deliberative ecosystem that is responsive to the challenges of the digital era. The significance of this research is twofold. Academically, it enriches the literature on religious harmony and religious moderation by offering a contemporary digital perspective that remains relatively underexplored both conceptually and empirically. Practically, the findings provide a policy foundation for religious institutions, governments, and civil society organizations in developing communication,

educational, and governance strategies that are more adaptive to digital realities. This new understanding is crucial for maintaining social cohesion in pluralistic societies that are increasingly shaped by digital interactions.

This article is organized into five main sections. The first section outlines the conceptual framework concerning the transformation of religious interaction within digital public spaces. The second section describes the research methodology employed to analyze digital discourses related to interreligious harmony. The third section presents the empirical findings on digital identity polarization, the transformation of interfaith relations, and the emergence of the condition conceptualized as the *post-tolerance era*. The fourth section discusses the implications of these findings for the repositioning of religious harmony governance through the proposed *Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance* model. Finally, the concluding section summarizes the main findings and highlights the theoretical and practical contributions of the study to the advancement of research on religious harmony in the digital era.

METHODS

This study employs a descriptive-analytical qualitative approach focusing on religious discourse and the dynamics of interfaith interaction within digital environments. A qualitative approach was selected because interreligious interactions in digital spaces cannot be adequately understood solely through quantitative communication patterns; rather, they require an interpretive examination of the meanings, narratives, and identity constructions embedded in online religious discourse. Within the field of digital religion, digital spaces function not merely as channels of communication but also as arenas for the production of religious meaning and the negotiation of complex religious identities in contemporary society (Bellar & Campbell, 2022; Knut Lundby, 2021). Accordingly, this study utilizes digital discourse analysis to examine how narratives of religious harmony, tolerance, polarization, and religious identity are produced, contested, and negotiated within the digital public sphere.

The research site does not refer to a specific geographical location but rather to Indonesia's digital public sphere as constituted through interactions among social media users. The study focuses on three major social media platforms, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, and Facebook, because these platforms are widely used for discussions on religious issues, interfaith dialogue, and public debates concerning religious diversity. Data were collected between July and December 2025 in order to capture the dynamics of religious conversations within the broader socio-political context of Indonesia's digital environment.

The unit of analysis in this study consists of digital conversations related to religious harmony, interfaith dialogue, and the polarization of religious identities.

Data were collected using a purposive sampling technique based on the following keywords: *religious harmony*, *interfaith dialogue*, *religious tolerance*, *religious moderation*, *religious conflict*, *intolerance*, *religious pluralism*, and *interreligious relations*. The inclusion criteria comprised: (1) posts that explicitly discussed interreligious relations; (2) posts containing interactions or responses from users with different religious backgrounds; (3) posts that received at least ten comments; and (4) publicly accessible content.

In the initial stage, approximately 350 relevant posts and digital conversations were identified across the three selected platforms. Following a screening process based on thematic relevance, level of engagement, and their connection to issues of interreligious relations, 96 primary posts were selected for further analysis. Thematic relevance was determined by the presence of at least one explicit reference to interreligious relations, tolerance, or religious identity in the post content, while the engagement threshold followed the inclusion criterion of a minimum of ten comments per post; posts meeting both criteria and showing responses from users of different apparent religious backgrounds were prioritised. These consisted of 38 posts from X, 31 YouTube videos along with their associated comment sections, and 27 Facebook posts. From this dataset, a total of 620 user comments were analyzed to capture the dynamics of interaction among different religious communities within digital spaces.

Data were collected through non-participant digital observation and content analysis of digital conversations relevant to interfaith interaction. The researchers did not participate in, initiate, or influence online discussions; instead, they systematically observed and documented publicly available interactions across the selected social media platforms. The data collection process involved systematically documenting posts, comments, discussions, and user responses that reflected practices of interreligious dialogue, expressions of religious identity, and various forms of discursive polarization. As part of the documentation process, each post was categorized according to platform type, primary theme, interaction pattern, and the dominant narrative orientation identified within the discourse, whether dialogical, neutral, or confrontational. To enhance the transparency and credibility of the empirical data, this study also presents selected examples of digital conversations that served as units of analysis across the respective platforms, as illustrated in Figure 1. These examples provide contextual evidence of how narratives of religious harmony, interfaith engagement, identity negotiation, and digital polarization are articulated and contested within contemporary online interactions.

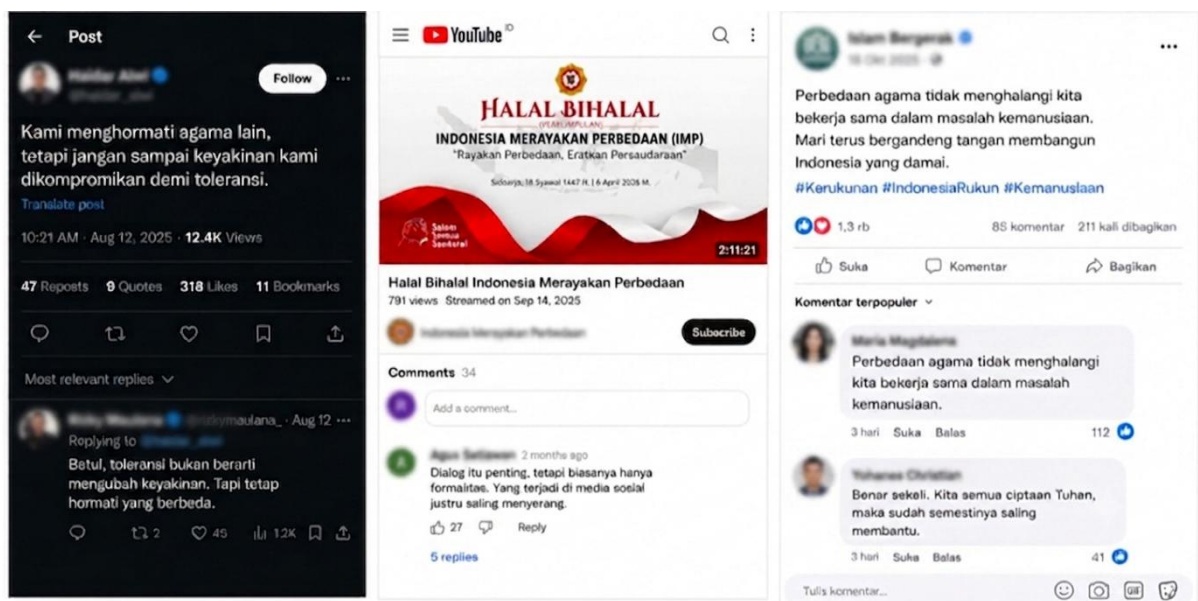


Figure 1. Examples of Digital Conversations on Interfaith Relations Across Platforms.

Data analysis was conducted through a systematic process consisting of data reduction, coding, digital discourse analysis, and thematic analysis to identify narrative patterns, meaning constructions, and identity representations emerging within digital discourses on religious harmony, religious identity polarization, and interreligious relations. Coding was performed using a codebook developed inductively from an initial reading of 20% of the dataset and refined through two rounds of pilot coding by two members of the research team; the two coders then independently coded the full set of 620 comments, and disagreements were resolved through discussion until consensus was reached, yielding an inter-coder agreement of 0.81 (Cohen's kappa) on the four thematic categories reported in Table 1. Because these categories were derived qualitatively and are used descriptively rather than to support statistical inference, the frequencies and percentages reported in this study are treated as indicative of the relative prominence of themes within the sampled dataset rather than as statistically representative of the broader population of Indonesian digital religious discourse. Digital discourse analysis was employed to examine how religious narratives, identity symbols, and interfaith communication practices are produced, negotiated, and contested within online interactions (Li, 2024). This approach enabled the researcher to explore the discursive processes through which meanings of tolerance, harmony, and religious difference are constructed and communicated in digital environments. In parallel, thematic analysis was used to categorize recurring narrative patterns and identify the major themes that characterize the dynamics of religious harmony and identity polarization in digital spaces.

To enhance the validity and trustworthiness of the findings, the study employed both source triangulation and data triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing findings across the three social media platforms, while data triangulation involved the use of policy documents, official government reports, and academic publications related to religious harmony in Indonesia. The overall analytical process followed the qualitative framework proposed by Miles et al., (2014) which consists of iterative stages of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Through this iterative process, digital conversations were interpreted to reveal the evolving meanings of interfaith dialogue, religious harmony, identity construction, and digital polarization.

This study adhered to the principles of digital research ethics throughout the data collection and analysis process. All data analyzed in this research were obtained exclusively from publicly accessible content on social media platforms and did not involve direct interaction, intervention, or participation by the researchers. To protect users' privacy, all personal identifiers including usernames, profile photographs, account handles, and other identifiable information were anonymized or removed from the dataset and from the examples presented in this article. Direct quotations from digital conversations were reproduced only to the extent necessary for analytical purposes and were presented in a manner that prevents the identification of individual users. The study did not collect or disclose any private communications, restricted-access content, or personally sensitive information. The research complies with the ethical principles of confidentiality, anonymity, and responsible use of publicly available digital data in accordance with established guidelines for internet-mediated research. As the coding of tone (dialogical, neutral, or confrontational) involves interpretive judgment, the research team maintained a reflexive coding log to document decision rules and disagreements, and treats this interpretive process, rather than claims of value-neutral observation, as the basis for the analytic categories used in this study.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

Patterns of Interfaith Interaction in Digital Public Spaces

An analysis of 96 primary posts and 620 user comments collected from X, YouTube, and Facebook during the period of July–December 2025 reveals that patterns of interfaith interaction within Indonesia's digital public sphere are unevenly distributed. Most religious conversations tended to develop within groups of users sharing similar religious affiliations, while interactions across religious boundaries remained relatively limited. Interfaith engagement generally emerged in discussions related to religious tolerance, interreligious dialogue, or public responses to social events involving different religious communities.

The coding results indicate that approximately 68% of the analysed conversations were dominated by intra-group communication, referring to interactions among users with relatively homogeneous religious identities. In contrast, only about 32% of the conversations involved users from different religious backgrounds. However, these interfaith interactions did not uniformly take the form of deliberative dialogue. While some discussions reflected constructive exchanges characterized by mutual respect and engagement with differing perspectives, others evolved into identity-based debates marked by defensive and confrontational positions.

These findings indicate that digital public spaces tend to generate conversational clusters segmented along religious identity affiliations. On X, for instance, discussions concerning tolerance and pluralism primarily developed within networks of users who shared similar ideological and religious orientations, resulting in limited interaction across different groups. On YouTube, interfaith engagement was more commonly observed within channels explicitly dedicated to interreligious dialogue, whereas on Facebook, discussions frequently evolved within communities or groups characterized by particular religious identities. This pattern suggests a tendency toward the formation of relatively closed discursive spaces that provide limited exposure to alternative perspectives.

This pattern is consistent with previous studies on digital communication fragmentation, which demonstrate that social media algorithms tend to strengthen connections among users who share similar preferences, beliefs, and identity affiliations, thereby increasing the likelihood of echo chamber formation (Cinelli et al., 2021). Within religious contexts, such conditions limit opportunities for meaningful encounters and sustained dialogue among different faith communities in digital environments (Campbell & Tsuria, 2022).

The findings further indicate that dialogical forms of interfaith interaction are more likely to emerge in discussions related to humanitarian issues, social solidarity, and cross-religious cooperation. In contrast, conversations centered on doctrinal debates or religious identity issues tend to exhibit higher levels of polarization. Several digital excerpts analysed in this study illustrate these patterns. For example, one user on the X platform stated:

“We respect other religions, but our beliefs should not be compromised in the name of tolerance.” (X-12, Agustus 2025)

Additional examples of confrontational discourse were also identified during the analysis. One user on X commented:

“Respecting other religions is important, but we must never allow tolerance to weaken our own religious principles.” (X-27, October 2025)

Another response stated:

“Every religion has the right to exist, but our faith should remain the only ultimate truth.” (X-31, November 2025)

These excerpts illustrate that recognition of religious diversity is frequently accompanied by strong symbolic boundary-making, reinforcing in-group identity while limiting openness toward alternative religious perspectives.

A similar pattern was observed on YouTube, where one user commented:

“Dialogue is important, but it is often merely symbolic. What actually happens on social media is mutual hostility.” (YT-08, September 2025)

This comment highlights a perceived gap between the normative ideal of interfaith dialogue and the realities of religious interaction within digital environments. It suggests scepticism regarding the effectiveness of formal interreligious dialogue in fostering meaningful engagement amid increasingly polarized online communication. Another participant wrote:

“We may hold different beliefs, but respecting one another is part of living together in a diverse society.” (YT-24, November 2025)

These comments reflect a neutral orientation in which users acknowledge religious diversity without actively promoting interfaith collaboration or engaging in identity-based confrontation. By contrast, a more inclusive narrative was identified on Facebook:

“Religious differences do not prevent us from working together on humanitarian issues.” (FB-14, Oktober 2025)

Additional dialogical narratives were predominantly found in conversations concerning humanitarian cooperation and shared civic responsibilities. One Facebook user remarked:

“Our different religions should inspire us to work together for the common good rather than divide us.” (FB-18, November 2025)

Another user commented:

“Helping disaster victims does not depend on religion. Humanity comes before religious differences.” (FB-22, December 2025)

These excerpts demonstrate a dialogical pattern in which religious diversity is interpreted as a foundation for collaboration and mutual understanding rather than competition or exclusion. Together with the previous examples, these findings reinforce the argument that digital public spaces simultaneously accommodate confrontational, neutral, and dialogical forms of interfaith interaction.

Visual representations of these selected digital conversations are presented in Figure 1. Collectively, the data demonstrate that digital public spaces function not only as arenas for the reproduction of identity polarization but also as sites where meanings of tolerance, dialogue, and religious harmony are actively negotiated. These findings suggest a dual character of digital environments: on the one hand, they may reinforce identity-based segmentation and polarization; on the other hand,

they provide opportunities for the development of more inclusive forms of interreligious communication and engagement.

Digital Identity Polarization and Religious Discourse Fragmentation

An analysis of 620 user comments derived from 96 posts across X, YouTube, and Facebook reveals a discernible tendency toward religious identity polarization within Indonesia's digital public sphere. This polarization is characterized by communication patterns that occur more frequently among users sharing similar religious affiliations than among those from different religious backgrounds. The findings suggest that digital spaces do not always function as arenas for cross-identity engagement; rather, they often serve as sites for the reproduction of relatively homogeneous group solidarity and identity affirmation.

Based on the coding process, digital conversations concerning religious issues were classified into four major thematic categories: (1) religious identity affirmation, (2) tolerance and interfaith dialogue, (3) polarization of religious narratives, and (4) cross-religious social collaboration. Among these categories, religious identity affirmation emerged as the most dominant theme, particularly in discussions related to tolerance, pluralism, and interreligious relations. Within this category, users frequently emphasized the distinctiveness of their own religious identity while simultaneously differentiating it from other groups. Table 1 presents the thematic coding results derived from the analysis of digital conversations, illustrating the relative prominence of each thematic category and highlighting the coexistence of both integrative and polarizing tendencies within contemporary digital religious discourse.

Table 1. Main Themes of Digital Religious Discourse

Initial Codes	Categories	Themes	Number of References (n)	Percentage (%)
Religious Identity Affirmation	Identity Assertion	Religious Identity Affirmation	218	35.2
Interfaith Tolerance and Dialogue	Interfaith Engagement	Interfaith Dialogue and Tolerance	162	26.1
Identity Polarization and Exclusivism	Polarized Narratives	Religious Polarization	141	22.7
Interfaith Social Solidarity	Collaborative Narratives	Interfaith Social Collaboration	99	16.0
Total			620	100.0

As presented in Table 1, the most dominant theme identified in the dataset was *Religious Identity Affirmation* (218 references; 35.2%), indicating that digital

conversations were primarily characterized by the reinforcement of religious identity and the preservation of in-group boundaries. The second most frequent theme was *Interfaith Dialogue and Tolerance* (162 references; 26.1%), suggesting that although interfaith engagement remained visible within the digital public sphere, it occurred less frequently than identity affirmation. Narratives categorized as *Religious Polarization* accounted for 141 references (22.7%), reflecting the persistence of exclusivist discourse and identity-based contestation in online interactions. Meanwhile, *Interfaith Social Collaboration* represented the smallest thematic category (99 references; 16.0%), indicating that collaborative narratives centred on humanitarian concerns and social solidarity were present but comparatively less prominent. These findings reinforce the argument that contemporary digital religious discourse is shaped primarily by identity affirmation, while dialogical and collaborative narratives occupy a more limited space within online interactions.

The coding results revealed recurring communication patterns characterized by repeated interactions among users who shared similar religious affiliations. Across the three social media platforms, discussions concerning religious issues predominantly developed within relatively homogeneous communication networks. In contrast, interactions involving users from different religious backgrounds occurred less frequently and were generally limited in duration and depth. These patterns were consistently observed throughout the analysed dataset and indicate the presence of segmented communication structures within the sampled digital conversations.

In a number of digital conversations, narratives reinforced group identity through the construction of symbolic boundaries between "us" and "them." Several comments expressed support for religious tolerance while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of preserving the exclusivity of religious identity. Within the analysed dataset, these narratives frequently combined recognition of religious diversity with explicit affirmations of group boundaries and religious distinctiveness.

The analysed conversations also showed that interactions involving users from different religious backgrounds were generally limited to brief responses, rebuttals, or clarifications. Extended exchanges involving sustained dialogue across religious identities were comparatively uncommon. Most interfaith interactions ended after one or two exchanges without developing into longer discussions.

Alternative narratives promoting cross-religious cooperation were also identified, particularly in discussions concerning humanitarian assistance, education, and social solidarity. These narratives appeared primarily in conversations focused on shared social concerns rather than theological debate. Within these discussions, users frequently emphasized cooperation, mutual assistance, and civic responsibility across religious boundaries.

Overall, the findings indicate that digital identity polarization is reflected not only in the content of religious discourse but also in the communication structures that shape relationships among users. The fragmentation of conversations, the predominance of intra-group communication, and the limited scope of interfaith interaction emerged as the defining characteristics of religious discourse within digital public spaces during the period under investigation.

Limitations of Existing Religious Harmony Governance in the Digital Era

The findings reveal a noticeable gap between formal indicators of religious harmony and the actual dynamics of religious interaction occurring within digital spaces. An analysis of conversations on X, YouTube, and Facebook indicates that interfaith interactions remain relatively limited compared to intra-group communication. Most discussions developed within homogeneous identity clusters, while interreligious dialogue appeared only sporadically and was more likely to occur in the context of debate and contestation rather than through deliberative exchanges of ideas.

Comparison between the digital conversation dataset and the national Religious Harmony Index (RHI) indicates differing empirical patterns. While the national RHI increased consistently from 67.46 in 2020 to 76.47 in 2024, the analysed digital conversations continued to display limited interfaith interaction, communication clustered around similar religious identities, and relatively few sustained cross-religious discussions (Barjah, 2024). These observations demonstrate that formal indicators of religious harmony and patterns of digital interaction exhibit different empirical characteristics during the same period.

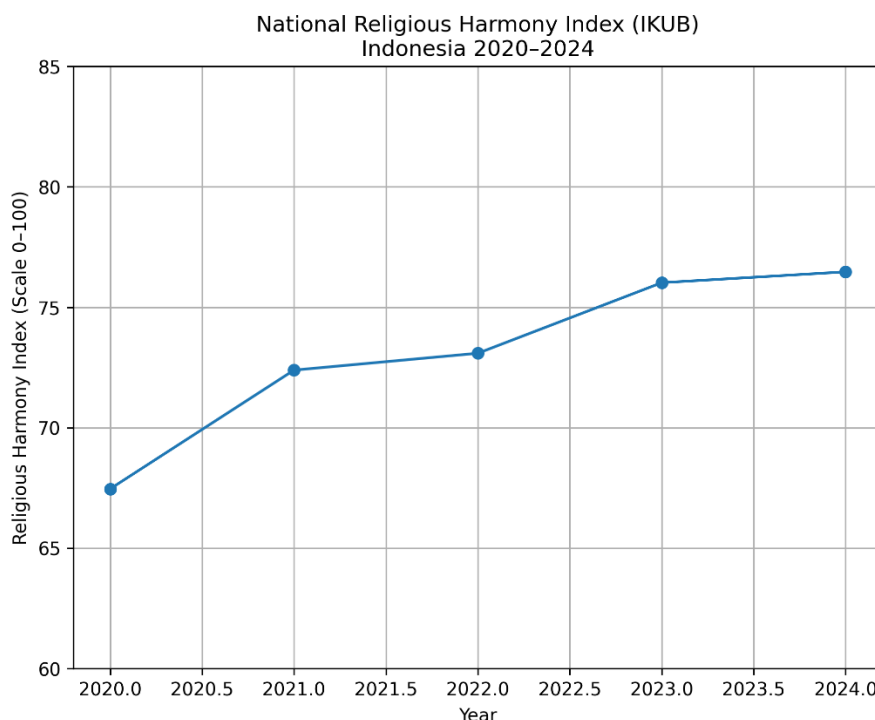


Figure 2. Religious Harmony Index Trend, 2020–2024

Source: Research and Development Agency and Training Centre, Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

The upward trend in the Religious Harmony Index (RHI) suggests the effectiveness of various government policies aimed at strengthening tolerance, religious moderation, and the stability of interreligious relations at the societal level. However, the findings of this study indicate that improvements in these formal indicators do not necessarily correspond to the quality of religious interactions within digital spaces. Despite the steady increase in the national RHI score, digital conversations continue to exhibit communication fragmentation, the predominance of intra-group interactions, and limited opportunities for substantive interfaith dialogue.

Empirically, the findings indicate that existing religious harmony governance frameworks remain primarily oriented toward managing interreligious relations within conventional social settings rather than within digital environments characterized by openness, decentralization, and algorithmically mediated communication. Consequently, the patterns of digital interaction identified in this study highlight the need to expand the scope of religious harmony governance so that it can more effectively respond to the transformation of religious communication and interaction in contemporary digital societies.

Discussion

From Normative Tolerance to the Post-Tolerance Era

The findings of this study indicate that religious harmony has undergone a structural shift that can no longer be explained solely through the category of normative tolerance. This shift reflects the transformation of the public sphere from a relatively centralized model of social interaction to a fragmented digital communication landscape. Aulisio (2018) argues that in digital societies, social cohesion is no longer primarily built through direct social proximity, but rather through algorithmic architectures that shape patterns of attention and affiliation. In the context of interreligious harmony, this transformation not only affects patterns of religious communication but also changes the ways in which interfaith relations are formed, negotiated, and maintained within digital public spaces. As illustrated in the following figure analysis:

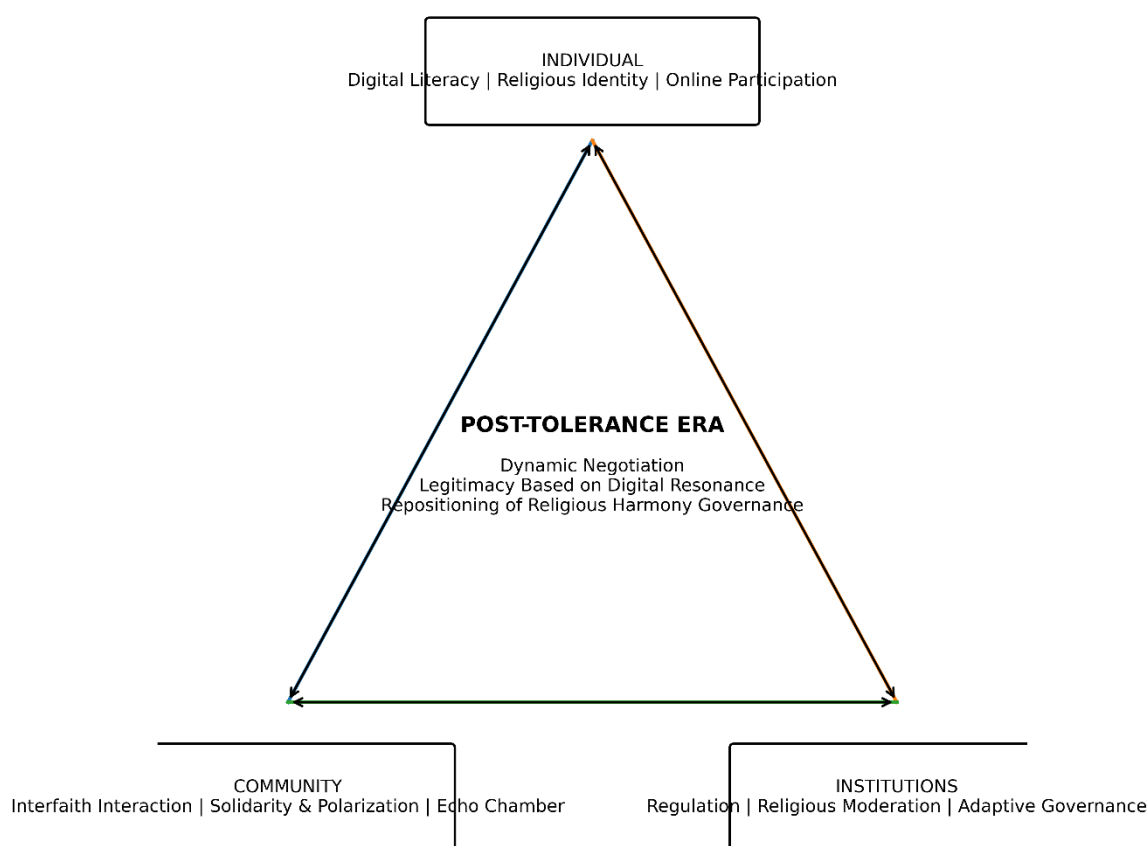


Figure 3. Conceptual Transition of Religious Harmony Toward the Post-Tolerance Era

The conceptual model presented in Figure 3 illustrates a gradual transition from passive coexistence to a condition that this study conceptualizes this condition as the post-tolerance era. In the phase of passive coexistence, religious harmony is characterized by the absence of overt conflict and the continuity of relatively stable

social relations, although interfaith interactions remain limited. The basis of social legitimacy at this stage derives from cultural norms, traditional social control, and the hierarchical role of religious institutions. In his recent analysis of social capital, Putnam (2014) argues that cohesion in traditional societies is largely sustained by communitarian ties (*bonding social capital*), which are effective in maintaining stability but do not necessarily promote bridges between groups (*bridging social capital*).

The next stage is normative tolerance, a phase in which respect for religious differences begins to be institutionalized through regulations, formal dialogue, and religious moderation campaigns. At this stage, social legitimacy is grounded in legal frameworks, institutional authority, and normative consensus regarding the importance of peaceful coexistence (Saumantri et al., 2025). However, tolerance in this sense remains procedural; it guarantees formal recognition of differences but does not fully create equal and deliberative interactions. A systematic literature review on religious moderation in Indonesia demonstrates that most religious harmony policies continue to be oriented toward stability and conflict prevention rather than strengthening interfaith dialogical capacities within digital spaces (Junaidi & Tanshzil, 2025).

A significant transformation occurs when society enters the phase of digital fragmentation. The public sphere, which was previously relatively centralized, becomes segmented as a result of the algorithmic architecture of social media. The production and distribution of religious discourse are no longer controlled by formal institutions but rather by mechanisms of attention, virality, and horizontal networks. Consequently, the basis of social legitimacy shifts from normative authority to performative legitimacy that is, legitimacy acquired through digital visibility and resonance. In a comparative cross-platform study, Cinelli et al., (2021) demonstrated that social media algorithms systematically reinforce information segregation and accelerate the formation of echo chambers. Meanwhile, 2024 Pew Research Centre survey data, discussed in a secondary analysis, confirm that the majority of social media users tend to interact with individuals who share similar religious and political views (Chan & Yi, 2024). In this context, religious harmony is no longer determined solely by formal regulations but also by the dynamics of interaction within fragmented digital spaces.

This fragmentation develops into identity polarization, in which digital interactions tend to strengthen internal solidarity while weakening communication across groups. Religious identities become increasingly symbolic and reactive, produced through narratives that are repeatedly circulated within homogeneous online communities. Rachman et al., (2025) explain that selective exposure to content aligned with ideological identities reinforces exclusive attitudes and reduces openness to alternative perspectives. In the religious context, this phenomenon strengthens what has been termed *identity-protective cognition*, namely the tendency

to defend group identity even when doing so conflicts with facts or rational dialogue (Welsch, 2021).

Based on these findings, this study proposes the concept of the *post-tolerance era* as an analytical category for explaining a new phase of interreligious relations in digital society. This concept refers to a condition in which tolerance continues to be recognized as a public norm but is no longer sufficiently effective as the primary mechanism for maintaining social cohesion because interreligious interactions have become mediated by algorithmically fragmented digital communication structures.

Unlike *tolerance discourse*, which emphasizes the normative recognition of differences, and *moderation discourse*, which focuses on balancing religious attitude (Jati et al., 2022), the concept of the *post-tolerance era* highlights structural changes within the communication ecosystem that influence how interfaith relations are produced and sustained. From this perspective, the primary issue is no longer merely a lack of tolerance but rather the transformation of social interaction structures that renders formal mechanisms of tolerance less adequate for managing digital identity polarization.

Furthermore, this concept differs from the *harmony governance* approach, which has traditionally emphasized social stability through regulation and institutional dialogue (Saumantri, 2023; Syahbudi, 2025). The post-tolerance era underscores the need for religious harmony governance to adapt to changes in the structure of the digital public sphere, where social legitimacy no longer rests entirely on institutional authority but is also shaped by the dynamics of digital communication networks, the visibility of discourse, and the participation of multiple actors within online ecosystems.

The changing configuration of the digital public sphere necessitates a conceptual redefinition of religious harmony, as formal indicators of stability are no longer sufficient to represent the quality of social relations in societies fragmented by algorithmic structures. In this context, a shift is required from a paradigm of passive stability to a paradigm of dynamic negotiation within the digital ecosystem. Religious harmony can no longer be understood as a static condition measured by the absence of conflict; rather, it should be understood as an adaptive process that depends on the capacity of governance systems to manage fragmentation, promote digital literacy, and create spaces for interfaith deliberation. Accordingly, the *post-tolerance era* does not signify the end of tolerance but rather its transformation from tolerance as a norm into religious harmony as an interactive practice that is continuously negotiated within a polarized digital public sphere.

Transformation of Religious Harmony Governance Structures

The structure of religious harmony governance has undergone a fundamental shift from a stability-based model to a trust-building model that is adaptive to digital

dynamics. As shown in Table 2, the primary orientation of the conventional governance model is to maintain social stability through formal regulation and conflict mediation by religious elites and state authorities. However, within the context of the *post-tolerance era*, governance can no longer be oriented solely toward stability; rather, it must continuously foster trust across groups within hybrid spaces of interaction (offline and digital). These findings indicate that religious harmony can no longer be sustained exclusively through regulatory approaches but instead requires collaborative approaches involving multiple actors and preventive-adaptive mechanisms.

Table 2. Transformation of Religious Harmony Governance in the Post-Tolerance Era

Dimension	Conventional Model (Tolerance-Based Governance)	Post-Tolerance Governance (Adaptive-Collaborative Model)	Illustrative Operational Indicators
Orientation	Social stability and absence of conflict	Trust-building and deliberative social cohesion	Intergroup trust index; perceived quality of interfaith relations
Primary Objective	Prevention of open conflict	Strengthening interfaith engagement and social resilience	Frequency of interfaith dialogue initiatives; level of community participation
Mechanism	Regulatory and administrative control	Collaborative and participatory governance	Number of collaborative programs involving government, religious institutions, civil society, and digital platforms
Approach	Top-down governance	Multi-level and networked governance	Extent of multi-stakeholder participation in policy implementation
Dominant Actors	Religious elites and government authorities	Multi-actors (state, religious institutions, civil society, digital communities, technology platforms)	Diversity of actors participating in governance networks
Source of Legitimacy	Normative and institutional authority	Deliberative legitimacy and digital resonance	Public trust index; engagement levels in interfaith digital forums
Interaction Space	Formal offline forums and institutional dialogue	Hybrid space (offline–digital platforms and social media)	Number of digital interfaith forums; participation rates across online platforms
Response Model	Reactive (post-conflict mediation)	Preventive-adaptive (early detection, digital literacy, participatory intervention)	Average response time to digital hate narratives; number of early-warning interventions

Policy Instruments	Regulation, formal dialogue forums	Digital literacy programs, cross-sector collaboration, digital discourse monitoring	Coverage of digital literacy programs; number of cross-sector collaborative initiatives
Indicators of Success	Absence of overt conflict	Level of trust, quality of interfaith deliberation, and digital integration	Increase in cross-group interaction intensity; reduction in intolerant narratives and hate speech; improvement in intergroup trust; sustained digital interfaith engagement

As shown in the table, this shift reflects a fundamental transformation in the orientation and mechanisms of religious harmony governance. From an interpretive perspective, this transition signifies a change in the governance paradigm from *control-oriented governance* to *networked collaborative governance*. In the conventional model, the legitimacy of religious harmony policies is primarily grounded in the authority of the state and formal religious institutions, which function as mediators of conflict. However, within a fragmented digital landscape, authority becomes increasingly distributed, and social interactions occur through horizontal networks. Consequently, top-down governance approaches become less responsive to the rapidly evolving dynamics of polarization in digital spaces. The trust-building orientation embedded in the new model reflects the recognition that social cohesion must be fostered through participatory interactions and transparency among actors rather than solely through normative regulation (Avgerou et al., 2015).

Unlike previous models of religious harmony governance, whose effectiveness was measured primarily by the absence of overt conflict, the post-tolerance governance model proposed in this study incorporates operational indicators that can be empirically observed. These indicators include the intensity of interfaith interactions within digital spaces, levels of participation in online dialogue forums, intergroup trust indices, the degree of multi-actor engagement in the governance of religious harmony, and reductions in intolerant narratives and hate speech within digital conversations. According to Engkizar et al., (2022), in digitally mediated societies, normative regulation without cross-group deliberative interaction may actually reinforce segregation because individuals remain confined within echo chambers. Similarly, Supriadi et al., (2026) empirically demonstrate that polarization within social media networks is inherently self-reinforcing, suggesting that policy interventions should be collaborative and network-based in order to facilitate exposure to diverse perspectives.

To enhance the practical applicability of the proposed model, each governance dimension is accompanied by illustrative operational indicators that can be empirically monitored and evaluated. Rather than relying solely on the absence of

open conflict as the principal measure of success, the adaptive governance model emphasizes measurable indicators, including the number of digital interfaith dialogue forums, the intensity of cross-group interactions across digital platforms, levels of intergroup trust, the degree of multi-actor participation in collaborative governance, and the frequency of intolerant narratives or hate speech within digital conversations. These indicators provide an evaluative framework through which policymakers and religious institutions can assess the effectiveness of religious harmony governance in responding to the evolving dynamics of digital communication ecosystems.

This shift can be explained through the theory of *collaborative governance* proposed by Ansell & Gash (2018) and further developed in contemporary studies of network governance. Emerson et al., (2022) argue that collaborative governance emphasizes deliberative processes involving government, civil society, and the private sector within a framework of shared decision-making. Public policies that address social complexities, including identity polarization, are more effective when designed through collaborative and network-based approaches rather than traditional hierarchical models. Therefore, the repositioning of religious harmony governance toward a collaborative model is not merely a normative choice but a structural necessity. OECD research on *trust in government* also demonstrates that public policies incorporating citizen participation and digital transparency are positively correlated with increased social trust and policy legitimacy (Prats et al., 2023). In the religious context, trust-building becomes a key variable that cannot be replaced solely by administrative stability.

The mismatch between the dynamics of digital polarization and policy designs that remain administratively oriented reveals a structural gap in religious harmony governance in Indonesia. In practice, most religious harmony policies in Indonesia continue to focus on conflict prevention and administrative stability (Kanikova & Rosalia, 2026). In their systematic review, Junaidi & Tanshzil, (2025) found that religious moderation approaches tend to be normative and have not yet fully integrated the digital dimension into policy strategies. Meanwhile, Sagala & Kandedes, (2024) argue that algorithmic fragmentation on social media creates discursive segregation that cannot be addressed solely through formal regulation.

The transformation from formal offline spaces to hybrid digital spaces also requires a redefinition of actors. Whereas religious elites previously served as the primary source of legitimacy, digital communities, influencers, technology platforms, and civil society organizations have now become integral components of the religious harmony ecosystem. Kurniawan et al., (2024) note that the majority of religious conversations among younger generations take place on social media rather than in formal institutional forums. Consequently, religious harmony governance must

extend into the digital arena through strategic partnerships with platforms and the strengthening of media literacy.

Accordingly, the conventional model based on stability and reactive regulation has significant limitations in addressing a fluid and polarized digital ecosystem. In contrast, *post-tolerance governance* requires collaborative mechanisms, a trust-oriented approach, and preventive-adaptive responses grounded in data and digital literacy. This repositioning has become a policy imperative because the social context has undergone a structural transformation from a society characterized by a centralized public sphere to a networked society fragmented by algorithmic processes. Without such a transformation in governance, religious harmony risks becoming trapped in a state of superficial stability that is incapable of responding effectively to the dynamics of digital identity polarization.

Adaptive Governance in the Post-Tolerance Era

Digital identity polarization cannot be effectively addressed through reactive regulatory approaches. The fragmentation of discourse and the distribution of authority within digital spaces require a governance model that is adaptive, collaborative, and data-driven. This polarization is structural in nature because it is produced by the algorithmic architecture of content distribution and the dynamics of network affiliations that reinforce segmentation. Consequently, approaches based solely on administrative control are insufficient to intervene in the root causes of the problem (Abitolkha et al., 2025; Taja et al., 2024)

The analysis of digital conversation networks in this study shows that religious interactions on social media tend to form homogeneous clusters dominated by intra-group communication, while interfaith interactions remain relatively limited and more frequently emerge in the context of polemics rather than deliberative dialogue. These findings indicate that religious harmony mechanisms based on traditional conflict mediation are no longer sufficient to address the dynamics of digital interactions that occur in a horizontal and distributed manner. Therefore, adaptive governance has become a systemic necessity rather than merely a policy innovation.

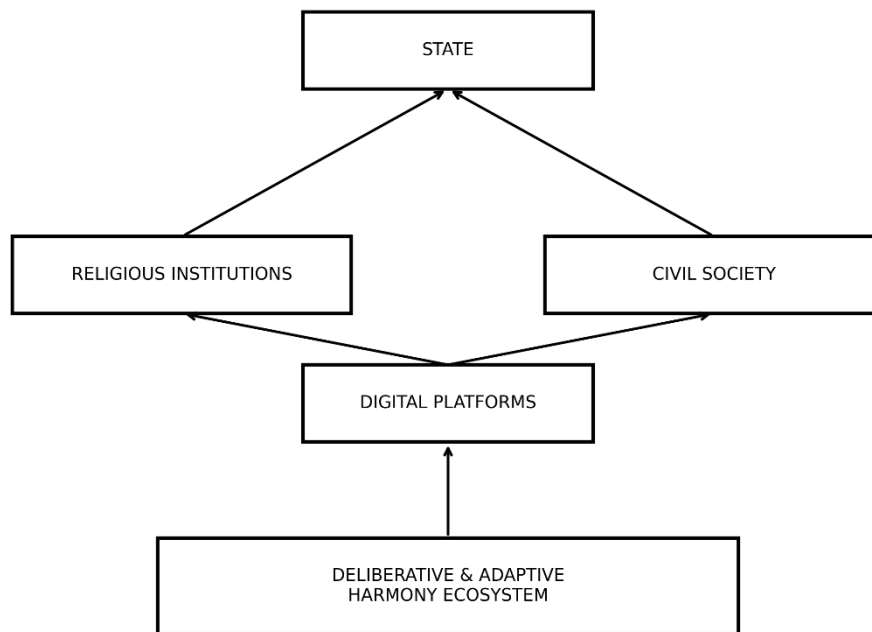


Figure 4: Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance Scheme in the Post-Tolerance Era

In this context, Figure 4 illustrates Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance as an operational model that integrates four main components the state, religious institutions, civil society, and digital platforms within an interconnected ecosystem of interaction. This model is not merely normative in nature but is designed as a governance framework that maps the functions and roles of each actor in responding to the fragmentation of religious communication within digital spaces.

These findings affirm that religious harmony can no longer be understood solely as the product of administrative policies but rather as the outcome of multi-actor interactions within a dynamic digital ecosystem. This ecosystem model is consistent with the network governance approach, which emphasizes interdependence among actors within complex social systems (Hansen & Flyverbom, 2015). From an interpretive perspective, this model demonstrates a shift from control-based governance to network orchestration governance. The state continues to perform a regulatory function, but it is no longer the sole source of legitimacy. Instead, the state plays a role in providing data-driven regulation, including monitoring trends in digital polarization, strengthening media literacy, and formulating preventive policies.

The Edelman Trust Barometer Report (2023) indicates that public trust increases when governments involve citizens and the private sector in policy responses to complex social issues (Edelman, 2023). Accordingly, the role of the state in this model is to serve as a facilitator of a deliberative ecosystem rather than merely a regulator of conflict. Within this adaptive model, religious institutions no longer function as exclusive authorities but as deliberative authorities.

Emerson et al., (2022) argue that collaborative governance requires institutional actors to transform from decision-makers into conveners within deliberative processes. The findings of this study indicate that religious accounts or channels that provide space for two-way discussions and engage users from different religious communities demonstrate higher levels of interfaith interaction than accounts that communicate normative messages through one-way communication. This finding suggests that the role of religious institutions in digital spaces is shifting from that of transmitters of normative authority to facilitators of interreligious dialogue.

Within the context of religion and digital spaces, religious authorities that actively facilitate online dialogue tend to have a more significant influence on fostering social cohesion than authorities that merely disseminate normative statements through one-way communication. A dialogical approach enables reciprocal interaction, clarification, and more inclusive negotiations of meaning, thereby strengthening public trust and expanding the reach of social legitimacy within the digital communication ecosystem (Rohmatin et al., 2025). This transformation marks a shift from a defensive approach to a dialogical approach that is responsive to digital dynamics.

In this model, digital platforms are positioned as a new arena of interaction that cannot be overlooked in the governance of religious harmony. Digital space is not merely a medium of communication but also a structure that shapes the distribution of attention and legitimacy. The algorithmic architecture of social media contributes to the formation of echo chambers and the polarization of discourse. In a comprehensive study on social media and democracy, Junaedi, (2019) also found that platform design influences the intensity of political and identity polarization.

In this study, the patterns of digital conversation networks indicate that content distribution algorithms tend to reinforce intra-group interactions, thereby limiting exposure to interreligious perspectives. This condition underscores the importance of partnerships among governments, religious institutions, and digital platforms in creating content moderation mechanisms and interaction designs that are more deliberative in nature. This approach is consistent with the concept of platform governance, which emphasizes shared responsibility between regulators and platform providers (Gorwa, 2019).

The foundation of this entire framework is digital literacy as a prerequisite for trust-building. Digital literacy is not only related to technical competence but also to the critical ability to evaluate information, understand algorithmic biases, and engage ethically across different identities. Wilson et al., (2025) emphasize that exposure to diverse perspectives and media literacy are essential prerequisites for preventing extreme fragmentation in digital democracies. Without digital literacy, policy interventions risk becoming ineffective because individuals remain trapped within

segregated information environments. In the context of interreligious harmony, digital literacy functions as a social mechanism that enables individuals to engage with members of other religious communities in a more reflective and dialogical manner, thereby reducing the potential for identity-based polarization (Sapriyallah, 2018).

The principal contribution of this model lies in its shift in perspective on religious harmony from a focus on conflict regulation to the development of a participatory, deliberative, and adaptive ecosystem. This adaptive governance model conceptualizes interfaith interaction as a social process that is continuously negotiated within digital communication networks. Accordingly, religious harmony is no longer produced solely through institutional policies but through the orchestration of multi-actor interactions grounded in data, digital literacy, and interreligious dialogue. Religious harmony is no longer generated through administrative stability alone but through multi-actor interactions based on trust, digital literacy, and cross-sector collaboration. In the *post-tolerance era*, adaptive governance becomes a prerequisite for sustainable social cohesion.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study show that religious interactions in digital environments predominantly occur within homogeneous identity clusters that reinforce in-group affiliation, whereas interfaith engagement remains relatively limited and frequently takes the form of contestation rather than sustained deliberative dialogue. It also demonstrates how religious harmony governance should be repositioned and then proposes the Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance model, which reorients governance from stability-based control toward collaborative, trust-building, and multi-actor engagement. More broadly, this study demonstrates that the transformation of the digital public sphere has fundamentally reshaped patterns of interreligious interaction within plural societies. The findings reveal that the increasing fragmentation of digital discourse, the strengthening of echo chamber dynamics, and the shift in sources of legitimacy from institutional authority to algorithmic resonance have generated a new configuration of interreligious relations that can no longer be adequately understood through the paradigm of normative tolerance alone. Based on these empirical findings, this study develops the post-tolerance era as an analytical framework for understanding the structural transformation of interreligious relations in digitally mediated societies.

The principal scholarly contribution of this study lies in the integration of religious harmony studies, digital identity polarization, and collaborative governance into a coherent analytical framework. Rather than proposing a new grand theory, this study offers the post-tolerance era as an analytical lens for interpreting the changing relationship between digital communication structures and the governance of

religious harmony. In addition, the study formulates the Adaptive Religious Harmony Governance model, which conceptualizes the state, religious institutions, civil society organizations, digital communities, and technology platforms as interconnected actors responsible for strengthening social cohesion within hybrid offline–online environments.

The findings also carry important policy implications. Religious harmony strategies can no longer rely exclusively on conflict prevention and formal dialogue among religious elites but should incorporate digital literacy, systematic monitoring of online religious discourse, platform-based interfaith dialogue, and collaborative partnerships among government agencies, religious institutions, civil society, and technology providers. Such measures are necessary to strengthen trust-building, expand meaningful interfaith engagement, and enhance the resilience of religious harmony governance within increasingly fragmented digital communication ecosystems.

This study nevertheless has several limitations. First, it focuses exclusively on three social media platforms (X, YouTube, and Facebook) and therefore does not capture the broader digital ecosystem, including Instagram, TikTok, Telegram, and other emerging platforms. Second, the qualitative approach emphasizes the interpretation of meanings and narratives and does not quantitatively measure the degree of digital polarization, the intensity of interfaith interaction, or the effectiveness of the proposed governance model.

Future research should adopt mixed-methods designs that integrate digital discourse analysis with social network analysis and computational approaches to provide more robust measurements of digital fragmentation, intergroup interaction, and religious identity polarization. Comparative studies across countries, cultural settings, and digital platforms are also needed to examine the broader applicability of the post-tolerance analytical framework. Such research would further refine adaptive governance strategies capable of fostering inclusive, participatory, and resilient interreligious relations within contemporary networked societies.

AI DISCLOSURE

The authors used ChatGPT (OpenAI) solely to support language translation, language refinement, grammar correction, manuscript editing, and verification of references, citations, and data consistency against original sources during the preparation of this article. All conceptual development, data collection, data validation, data analysis, interpretation of findings, and final conclusions were conducted entirely by the authors. All AI-assisted outputs were critically reviewed, verified and revised by the authors.

REFERENCES

- Abitolkha, A. M., Alamin, T., Ihsan, N. H., & Huwaida, M. S. (2025). Balanced Engagement: Kiai Ihsan Jampes' Adaptive Zuhud Framework for Spiritual Transformation in the Digital Era. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 13(1), 39. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v13i1.22322>
- Aksa, A., & Nurhayati, N. (2020). Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Budaya Dan Kearifan Lokal Pada Masyarakat Donggo Di Bima (Tinjauan Sosio-Historis). *Harmoni*, 19(2), 338–352. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v19i2.449>
- Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2018). Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), 543–571. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mum032>
- Aulisio, G. J. (2018). #republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media. *The European Legacy*, 23(7–8), 866–867. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2018.1449394>
- Avgerou, C., Ciborra, C., Cordella, A., Kallinikos, J., & Smith, M. (2015). *The Role of Information and Communication Technology in Building Trust in Governance: Towards Effectiveness and Results*. Inter-American Development Bank. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0012339>
- Barjah. (2024). *Indeks Kerukunan Umat Beragama 2024 Naik Jadi 76,47*. Kemenag.Go.Id. <https://kemenag.go.id/nasional/indeks-kerukunan-umat-beragama-2024-naik-jadi-76-47-wG2qs>
- Bellar, W., & Campbell, H. A. (2022). *Digital Religion: The Basics*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003058465>
- Bisri, Hartati, Mustopa, & Saumantri, T. (2024). Navigating modern challenges: The practical role of triple-Relationship of religious moderation through an islamic perspective. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 14(2), 286–302. <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.142.17>
- Campbell, H. A., & Tsuria, R. (2022). *Digital Religion Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media*. Routledge.
- Chan, M., & Yi, J. (2024). Social Media Use and Political Engagement in Polarized Times. Examining the Contextual Roles of Issue and Affective Polarization in Developed Democracies. *Political Communication*, 41(5), 743–762. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2024.2325423>
- Cinelli, M., De Francisci Morales, G., Galeazzi, A., Quattrociocchi, W., & Starnini, M. (2021). The echo chamber effect on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(9). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023301118>

- Edelman. (2023). *Social fabric weakens amid deepening divisions*. Wwww.Edelman.Com. <https://www.edelman.com/trust/2023/trust-barometer>
- Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T., & Balogh, S. (2022). An Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur011>
- Engkizar, E., Kaputra, S., Mutathahirin, M., Syafril, S., Arifin, Z., & Kamaluddin, M. (2022). Model Pencegahan Konflik Antarumat Beragama Berbasis Kegiatan Masyarakat. *Harmoni*, 21(1), 110–129. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v21i1.603>
- Faizin, B. (2024). Polarization of Religious Issues in Indonesia's Social Media Society and Its Impact on Social Conflict. *Journal of Applied Data Sciences*, 6(1), 426–442. <https://doi.org/10.47738/jads.v6i1.447>
- Gorwa, R. (2019). What is platform governance? *Information, Communication & Society*, 22(6), 854–871. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1573914>
- Hamdi, A. Z. (2021). Constructing Indonesian Religious Pluralism: The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama in Countering Violent Religious Extremism. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 15(2), 433. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.433-464>
- Handayani, M. A., & Ali, M. (2020). Antara Agama dan Imajinasi: Identitas Simbol Ibadah dalam Perspektif Postkomunikasi, Postspiritualitas, dan Hiperspiritualitas. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 4(2), 125–134. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v4i2.8592>
- Hansen, H. K., & Flyverbom, M. (2015). The politics of transparency and the calibration of knowledge in the digital age. *Organization*, 22(6), 872–889. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508414522315>
- Jati, W. R., Halimatusa'diah, H., Syamsurijal, S., Aji, G. B., Nurkhoiron, M., & Tirtosudarmo, R. (2022). From Intellectual to Advocacy Movement: Islamic Moderation, the Conservatives and the Shift of Interfaith Dialogue Campaign in Indonesia. *Ulumuna*, 26(2), 472–499. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v26i2.572>
- Junaedi, E. (2019). This is religious moderation from the perspective of the ministry of religious affairs. *Harmoni*, 18(2), 182–186. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v18i2.414>
- Junaidi, J., & Tanszil, S. W. (2025). Religious Moderation Research (2016–2025): Systematic Review and Bibliometric Mapping. *Harmoni*, 24(2), 185–214. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v24i2.888>
- Kanikova, R. K., & Rosalia, F. (2026). Manajemen Konflik Berbasis Komunitas Oleh

- Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB) Pada Konflik Sosial Keagamaan di Lampung. *Journal Publicuho*, 9(1), 16–28. <https://doi.org/10.35817/publicuho.v9i1.1058>
- Knut Lundby, G. E. (2021). *Theoretical frameworks for approaching religion and new media*. Routledge.
- Kurniawan, P., Ahmatnihar, A., & Ridwan, M. (2024). The Transformation of Islamic Family Law in the Digital Era: A Sociological Legal Analysis of Marriage and Divorce Regulations in Indonesia. *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, 28(2), 179. <https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v28i2.5146>
- Li, Y. (2024). Research methods for digital discourse analysis Research methods for digital discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 21(3), 379–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2022.2149581>
- Liu, Y., Rakthin, C., & Budianto, L. (2025). Religious Moderation and Community Cohesion: Exploring Social Memory, Identity, and Solidarity in the Phu Khao Thong Muslim Community, Ayutthaya. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, 24(1), 379–392. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol24.iss1.art10>
- Marpuah, M. (2019). Toleransi Dan Interaksi Sosial Antar Pemeluk Agama Di Cigugur, Kuningan. *Harmoni*, 18(2), 51–72. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v18i2.309>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.
- Pratap, A. P. (2025). From Public Square to Echo Chamber: The Fragmentation of Online Discourse. *ArXiv*. View on ArXiv. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2501.18441>
- Prats, M., Phillips, E., & Smid, S. (2023). Insights from the 2021 OECD Trust Survey: How people evaluate the trustworthiness of government institutions & implications for policymakers. *Behavioral Science & Policy*, 9(2), 9–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23794607241262091>
- Prayogo, T. I., Zarkasyi, A. F., Arroisi, J., & Indah, N. (2024). Repositioning of Religious Moderation in Indonesia: a Conceptual Analysis Review with Phenomenology Approach. *Addin*, 18(1), 31. <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v18i1.22218>
- Putnam, R. D. (2014). Social Capital and Public Affairs. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 47(8), 5. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3824796>
- Qoumas, Y. C., Binti Mohd. Hussain, R. B., & Bin Abdul Rahim, R. A. (2024). The Dissemination of Religious Moderation Through the Policy of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*,

- 12(1), 147. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v12i1.27552>
- Rachman, A., Saumantri, T., & Hidayatulloh, T. (2025). Transformation of religious authority in the digital era: A post-normal times analysis by Ziauddin Sardar on the phenomenon of social media da'wah. *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 45(1), 107–122. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v45.1.25644>
- Rohmatin, T., Binaningrum, B., Irawan, B., Iman, M. T., & Rahmawati, F. D. (2025). Epistemological Polemics in Digital Religion. *Kanz Philosophia: A Journal for Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, 11(2), 437–454. <https://doi.org/10.20871/kpjipm.v11i2.448>
- Saehu, R., Syarifudin, A., Paramitha, N. A., & Hilmi, F. (2024). Netnographic Study on The Narrative of Marriage at The Office of Religious Affairs (Kua): Opportunities and Challenges. *Harmoni*, 23(2), 159–179. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v23i2.793>
- Sagala, R., & Kandedes, I. (2024). The Role of Islamic Education Teachers in Addressing the Negative Impact of the TikTok on Teenagers in Lampung, Indonesia. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, 947–990. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss2.art14>
- Saprillah, S. (2018). Rumah Ibadah Sebagai Medan Kontestasi Beragama. *Harmoni*, 16(2), 357–373. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v16i2.13>
- Sasea, S. C., Habibi, A. W., & Dewi Anida Nurul, F. (2025). Religious Tolerance in the Digital Age: A Discourse Analysis of the “Log In” Podcast. *DISCOURSE: Indonesian Journal of Social Studies and Education*, 2(3), 215–226. <https://doi.org/10.69875/djosse.v2i3.186>
- Saumantri, T. (2023). Religious Moderation in a Plural Society: Study of Tolerance Village in Bandung City. *Kontekstualita: Journal of Social and Religious Research*, 38(1), 27–44. <https://doi.org/10.30631/38.01.21-32>
- Saumantri, T., Hidayatulloh, T., Sumanta, & Asmuni, A. (2025). Tolerance in the Theology of Islamic Reform: A Hermeneutic Reading of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Thought. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 27(June), 160–170. <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.27.2025.326>
- Shihab, M. Q. (2020). *Wasathiyah: Islamic Insights on Religious Moderation*. Lentera Hati.
- Supriadi, D., Sanusi, A., Reslawati, R., Burhanudin, D., & Pinem, M. (2026). Religious Traditions and Cultural Integration: Pathways to Harmonization and the Promotion of Moderation in Contemporary Muslim Societies. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 16(1), 110–126. <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.161.07>

- Syahbudi. (2025). The Exploration of Religious Moderation Discourse as a New Form of Nationalism in the Indonesian Government. *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies*, 21(2), 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v21i2.22086>
- Taja, N., Hakim, A., Suhardini, A. D., Baehaqi, R., & Pamungkas, M. I. (2024). Puritan, Moderate, and Liberal Youth Muslim: Islamic Identity Typology Among Generation Z Students in Indonesian Universities. *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies*, 20(1), 16–40. <https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v20i1.20529>
- Welsch, H. (2021). How climate-friendly behavior relates to moral identity and identity-protective cognition: Evidence from the European social surveys. *Ecological Economics*, 185, 107026. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107026>
- Wilson, W., Rismawati Wainarisi, Y. O., & Munte, A. (2025). The Value of Tolerance in the Huma Betang Philosophy and Its Relevance to Religious Moderation in Islamic-Dayak Relations. *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies*, 11(2), 157–170. https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v11i2.9577
- Zaimina, A. B. (2025). Addressing digital religious polarization: Policy analysis of religious moderation narratives on Indonesian government social media. *Al'Adalah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 28(1), 19–40. <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v28i1.572>