

Mediatization Strategies and Audience Responses in Constructing Narratives of Tolerance: A Netnographic Study of the Jakatarub Interfaith Community on Instagram

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Abstract

Purpose: This study aims to analyze how the interfaith community Jakatarub (Jaringan Kerja Antarumat Beragama) constructs a narrative of religious tolerance through mediatization strategies on the Instagram platform, as well as how audiences respond to these narratives. This research is significant given the shift of interfaith dialogue traditions from physical spaces to digital spaces, which opens new opportunities while also presenting challenges for strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia. **Methodology:** Using a qualitative approach with the netnography method, this study focuses on the Instagram account @jakatarub_bdg by examining 128 Feed and Reels posts published 2024, along with audience comments analyzed using Kozinets' Cyber Media Analysis (CMA) framework. **Findings:** The findings reveal that the constructed tolerance narrative encompasses three main themes: interfaith dialogue (41%), social harmony (38%), and religious tolerance (21%). The mediatization strategies applied include media as conduits, media as language, and media as environment, which synergistically expand the reach of messages and create participatory spaces for audiences. Audience responses were predominantly positive and reflective, although some critical feedback sparked deeper discussions on the realities of tolerance at the local level. **Research Implications:** The implications of this study affirm the potential of social media as an effective medium for promoting interfaith dialogue, while highlighting the need for content moderation policies and adaptive communication strategies to anticipate risks of polarization and the reproduction of stereotypes. **Originality/Value:** The originality of this research lies in its integration of Hjarvard's and Meyrowitz's mediatization theory with a netnographic approach to a grassroots interfaith community in Indonesia—a focus that has been rarely explored in previous studies.

Keywords: Jakatarub; interfaith dialogue; mediatization; netnography.

Abstrak

Tujuan: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana komunitas lintas iman Jakatarub (Jaringan Kerja Antarumat Beragama) membangun narasi toleransi beragama melalui strategi *mediatization* di platform Instagram, serta bagaimana audiens merespons narasi tersebut. Studi ini penting dilakukan mengingat pergeseran tradisi dialog lintas iman dari ruang fisik ke ruang digital, yang membuka peluang baru sekaligus tantangan bagi penguatan kohesi sosial di Indonesia. **Metodologi:** Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode *netnography*. Fokus penelitian diarahkan pada akun Instagram @jakatarub_bdg dengan mengkaji 128 unggahan *Feed* dan *Reels* yang dipublikasikan pada periode 2024, beserta komentar audiens yang dianalisis menggunakan kerangka *Cyber Media Analysis* (CMA) milik Kozinets. **Temuan:** Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa narasi toleransi yang dibangun mencakup tiga tema utama: dialog lintas iman (41%), harmoni sosial (38%), dan toleransi beragama (21%). Strategi mediatisasi yang digunakan meliputi *media as conduits* (media sebagai saluran), *media as language* (media sebagai bahasa), dan *media as environment* (media sebagai lingkungan), yang secara sinergis memperluas jangkauan pesan dan menciptakan ruang partisipatif bagi audiens. Respons audiens mayoritas bersifat positif dan reflektif, meskipun terdapat kritik yang memicu diskusi lebih mendalam tentang realitas toleransi di tingkat lokal. **Implikasi Penelitian:** Penelitian ini menegaskan potensi media sosial sebagai sarana efektif untuk mempromosikan dialog lintas iman. Namun

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demikian, diperlukan kebijakan moderasi konten dan strategi komunikasi adaptif untuk mengantisipasi risiko polarisasi serta reproduksi stereotip. **Orisinalitas/Nilai:** Keaslian penelitian ini terletak pada integrasi teori mediatisasi Hjarvard dan Meyrowitz dengan pendekatan netnografi pada studi komunitas lintas iman akar rumput di Indonesia—sebuah fokus yang belum banyak dieksplorasi pada kajian sebelumnya.

Kata Kunci: Jakatarub; dialog lintas iman; mediatisasi; netnografi,

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is recognized as a country with a high level of religious and cultural diversity (Neelam Bano et al., 2021). However, this condition also makes it vulnerable to social friction based on differences in belief. In recent years, the digital sphere—particularly social media—has become a new arena for the contestation of religious ideologies that often trigger polarization. Research conducted by PPIM UIN Jakarta through the *Media and Religious Trend in Indonesia (MERIT)* program reveals that religious discourse on social media, particularly on Twitter and YouTube, is dominated by conservative narratives at 67.2%, followed by moderate (22.2%), liberal (6.1%), and Islamist (4.5%) views. This dominance is especially evident on sensitive issues such as gender, politics, and interfaith relations, where conservative narratives often confine women to narrow domestic roles and disregard the principle of equality. The *MERIT* findings also show that the politicization of religious issues in the digital sphere often increases during political moments, such as the 2014 Presidential Election and the Jakarta Election, thereby heightening the potential for identity-based conflict. Geographically, West Java ranks among the regions with relatively high proportions of conservatism and Islamism, at 10% and 15%, respectively. These findings indicate that interfaith harmony faces challenges not only in physical spaces but also in digital spaces, where hardline groups (radicalism) have a much louder voice compared to the moderate silent majority (Garadian, 2020). Therefore, systematic efforts to strengthen narratives of tolerance and to build bridges of dialogue between religious communities on social media are crucial to fostering social cohesion in the digital era (Dja'far, 2019).

The dominance of conservative narratives in the digital sphere intersects with the alarming rise of religion-based hate speech. Monitoring conducted by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and the Monash Data & Democracy Research Hub (MDDRH) during the 2024 Regional Election campaign on TikTok revealed that 18.15% of sampled videos in five provinces contained hate speech, either in their content or in their comments. West Java ranked first with 204 cases, followed by North Maluku (159), Aceh (98), West Nusa Tenggara (80), and West Sumatra (14). This hate speech targeted not only majority and minority religious groups but also ethnic groups, Rohingya refugees in Aceh, and Christians and Catholics in several regions (AJI Indonesia, 2024). In West Java, religious sentiments were often linked to local political dynamics, sustaining narratives that had emerged since the 2019 Presidential Election, particularly against supporters of certain political figures. Researchers from the Maarif Institute emphasize that exposure to negative content—including hate speech, fake news, and *Suku, Agama, Ras, Antargolongan/SARA* (ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations) sentiments—has a significant impact on the attitudes of young people, fostering intolerance and discrimination against different groups (KOMDIGI, 2020). This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the internet has become the main source of information for young people, thereby increasing the risk of forming exclusive mindsets and antipathy toward diversity. This underscores the urgency of providing counter-narratives in the form of positive and

inclusive content on social media as a preventive and mitigating strategy against religion-based polarization in the digital sphere.

One effective strategy to reduce polarization and curb the dominance of hate speech in the digital realm is to present counter-narratives that promote interfaith dialogue, peace, and values of togetherness. This effort can be carried out by community accounts that consistently mainstream positive messages on social media, thereby balancing and reducing the spread of conflict-laden messages. A prominent example is the Jakatarub (*Jaringan Kerja Antarumat Beragama*) community, a peace movement based in Bandung, West Java. This community was born out of concern over interfaith tensions, which prompted a group of young people to gather at an Islamic boarding school in Garut to discuss these problems and find solutions. Jakatarub holds the conviction that dialogue and interfaith understanding are key to resolving tensions (Alfiyya, 2024). Today, through its official Instagram account, @jakatarub_bdg, the community actively produces and disseminates content that promotes tolerance, harmony, and interfaith cooperation, making social media a strategic space to expand the reach of peace messages to the public, especially the younger generation (Jakatarub, 2022).

Research on interfaith dialogue and peace initiatives in social media shows at least three main tendencies. First, studies focus on the role of interfaith communities in creating inclusive dialogue spaces in digital environments. Several studies highlight the role of Jakatarub as an interfaith community actively facilitating interreligious dialogue through digital platforms such as Instagram. Jakatarub builds inclusive spaces that uphold the values of tolerance and diversity (Wahyuni, 2018). In the context of conflict management, this community employs four main pillars: theology, nationality, culture, and media, which form a strong foundation for strengthening cross-group understanding. The theological pillar emphasizes the universal message of religion about peace; nationality underscores the importance of national harmony; culture serves as a means to foster mutual respect; and media acts as a connector to build open dialogue in public spaces (Farida, 2015; Wahyuni, 2019).

Second, research adopting Stig Hjarvard's *Religious Mediatization* theory emphasizes that digital media functions not only as a communication channel but also as a cultural actor that creatively and contextually shapes religious practices and experiences. Nurillah (2024) found that *Riko The Series* utilizes audio-visuals and social media interactions to build an online community based on religious values. Asih (2023) demonstrated that the *Jeda Nulis* channel packages messages of tolerance in popular cultural formats—oral, serial, and textual—making them easily accessible to younger generations. Meanwhile, Arafah et al. (2023) highlighted the importance of wise and engaging *da'wah* strategies on the *Superbook Indonesia* and *Nussa Rara* channels, as well as the optimal use of digital media by religious leaders. These findings affirm that media shapes the way religion is understood and presented in the digital sphere.

Third, netnographic studies examine Instagram user interactions to understand the dynamics of social, cultural, and visual communication in the digital sphere. For example, Muntu et al. (2021) researched the @indozone.id account, focusing on the forms of user interaction and visual elements in posted content. Waruwu and Vera (2020) analyzed the phenomenon of hatred on the @prof.tjokhowie account, using a netnographic approach to identify patterns in comments and netizen responses to sensitive issues. Anandayan and Adiprabowo (2023) employed a virtual netnography approach to study the @potonganfilm account, showing how a virtual community is formed through film-related content that encourages active engagement from followers.

In line with this, conceptual studies on interfaith dialogue stress the importance of building understanding, tolerance, and cooperation between individuals or groups from different religious backgrounds (Hernawan et al., 2021). Studies on interfaith dialogue on social media demonstrate the great

potential of digital platforms to strengthen interfaith harmony. Huda and Filla (2019) emphasize the role of social media as a means of communication and coordination among young people to foster interfaith harmony. Saumantri (2023) warns that although social media provides broad access to information, it can also trigger conflict if not accompanied by an understanding of religious moderation. Meanwhile, Kahpi (2019) stresses that social media can be used positively to strengthen interfaith relations by disseminating values of tolerance and mutual understanding in the digital age.

From this review, it is evident that although various studies have discussed the role of social media in interfaith dialogue, research that examines in depth the communication strategies of local communities—particularly those based in regions with high levels of intolerance such as West Java—remains limited. Moreover, previous studies tend to separate the analysis of produced content from audience responses, even though both are interconnected in shaping the ecosystem of peace messages in the digital sphere. This study offers a new contribution by combining an analysis of visual-narrative communication strategies and audience interactions on the Instagram account @jakatarub_bdg, providing a more comprehensive picture of how community-based counter-narratives can serve as effective instruments to promote interfaith harmony amid the dominance of conservative discourse and hate speech on social media.

Therefore, this study aims to explore how the Jakatarub Instagram account builds narratives of interfaith harmony in the digital space through communication strategies and the types of content presented. Furthermore, it analyzes audience responses to the constructed narratives of diversity, including support, reflection, questions, and criticism, as forms of digital communication practices. The research data were obtained from posts on the official Jakatarub Instagram account and user interactions in the comment section, which were then analyzed qualitatively using a netnographic approach. Through this approach, the study examines how audiences interpret, respond to, and interact with Jakatarub's content, as well as its contribution to advancing interfaith dialogue on social media.

This study is based on the assumption that social media, particularly Instagram, functions not only as a medium for conveying religious messages but also as a cultural space where religious meanings are negotiated, constructed, and re-practiced. In this context, the Jakatarub Instagram account is positioned as a digital space where religious diversity is not only mediated but also reconfigured into values of tolerance and harmony through the unique communication logic of social media (Hjarvard, 2008b). Referring to Stig Hjarvard's *Theory of the Mediatization of Religion*, media is no longer merely a neutral channel but a cultural actor that shapes how religion is understood and represented. Through this process, religion becomes more secularized in public representation and more autonomous from formal religious institutions (Hjarvard, 2013). In the public sphere, religion appears in three main forms: religious media (content produced by religious institutions to directly convey teachings), religious journalism (coverage by general media that presents religion within a social or cultural framework), and banal religion (the implicit emergence of religious values or symbols in popular culture and everyday communication). In the context of Jakatarub, these three forms are evident in educational content based on teachings, documentation of interfaith activities, and visual illustrations and reflective narratives that imply religious values without explicit religious symbols. To explain the function of media in this process, Hjarvard adopts Joshua Meyrowitz's framework, which maps the role of media as *Conduits* (conveyors of inclusive interfaith messages), *Language* (a visual, concise, and youth-appropriate communication style), and *Environment* (a participatory and dialogical digital social space) (Fakhruroji, 2011; Hjarvard, 2008b).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study focuses on how the Jakatarub Instagram (@jakatarub_bdg) account builds narratives of interfaith tolerance in the digital space through communication strategies and the types of content presented. In addition, this study also analyzes audience responses to the constructed narratives of diversity, including support, reflection, questions, and criticism as forms of digital communication practices. The analysis consists of Feed and Reels posts as well as user comments that appear under the content. This study aims to understand how narratives of religious diversity are communicated through social media and how audiences negotiate the meaning of these messages.

The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach with a netnography method. This method was chosen because it allows researchers to observe and analyze digital communication practices naturally on social media. Netnography, as developed by Kozinets, is used to understand online social and cultural practices, including how communities convey their identities, values, and beliefs (Kozinets, 2010). Data was obtained from two sources: (1) Primary data consisting of 128 Feed and Reels posts from 2024, as well as user comments; and (2) secondary data consisting of academic literature, books, and relevant previous research. Data collection was conducted through virtual observation and documentation, by recording content and saving screenshots of posts and comments. Comments were classified into four categories: supportive, reflective, questioning/neutral, and critical/opposing.

Data analysis was conducted using the Cyber Media Analysis (CMA) framework as part of Kozinets' netnographic method (Kozinets, 2010). CMA consists of four levels: media space (Instagram as a social platform), media documents (post content such as captions, visuals, and hashtags), media objects (technical elements such as Reels and Feed features), and user experience (audience interactions in the comment section). Through this approach, the researcher examines how Jakatarub's communication strategies shape diversity narratives and how audiences understand and negotiate them. This analysis is enriched by Stig Hjarvard's theory of religious mediatization and Joshua Meyrowitz's media theory to examine the role of media as a channel, language, and social environment in shaping religious practices in the digital age (Hjarvard, 2008a).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Narrative of Tolerance in Jakatarub Instagram Content

The mediatization of religion in digital platforms has changed the way religious communities construct and negotiate values of tolerance. Hjarvard explains that media is not merely a neutral channel, but a cultural actor that helps shape the way people experience and live their religion (Hjarvard, 2008a). In this context, the Instagram account Jakatarub, as an interfaith community, utilizes digital platforms to build narratives of tolerance through content that addresses issues related to religious life in Indonesia.

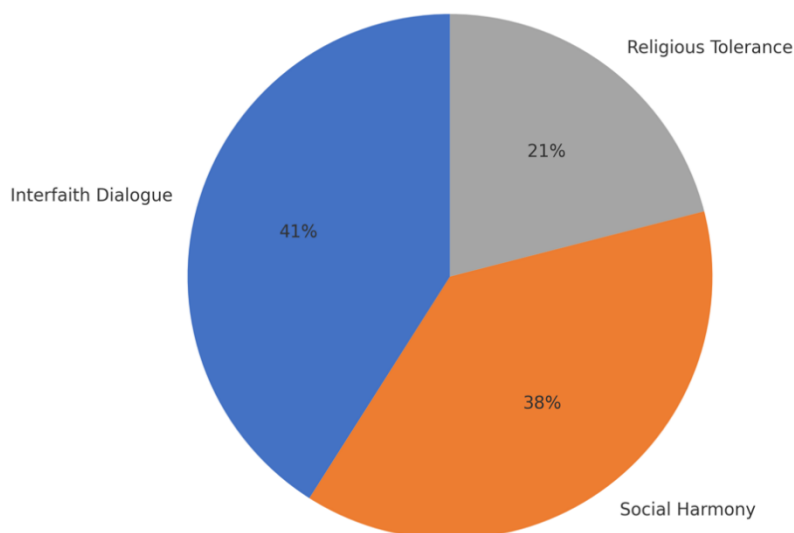


Figure 1. Distribution of Tolerance Narrative Themes in 128 Jakatarub Instagram Posts in 2024

Based on Figure 1, an analysis was conducted on 128 posts from the Jakatarub Instagram account published throughout 2024. Based on a review of all content, three main themes were identified in the narrative of religious tolerance: interfaith dialogue (41% or 30 posts), social harmony (38% or 28 posts), and religious tolerance (21% or 15 posts). This classification was based on keyword identification, visual narratives, and the form of interaction recorded in each post. The composition of these themes reflects a communication strategy focused on concrete practices of diversity in daily life. The distribution of themes is visualized in Figure 1.

Content themed around religious tolerance shows how Jakatarub builds narratives through moments of interfaith togetherness that develop into dialogue and social harmony. One example is the Reels “*Kompilasi Respon Netizen terkait War Takjil saat Ramadhan* [Compilation of Netizen Responses to the Takjil War during Ramadhan]”, which features empathetic public comments. One user wrote, “*Kita dipersatukan kembali dengan takjil dan Ramadhan, Tuhan kita sedang tersenyum di atas sana* [We are reunited through takjil and Ramadhan; our God is smiling down on us].” This comment reflects a reinterpretation of tradition as a symbol of unity and a reimagining of the spirit of humanity (Jakatarub, 2024h).

This narrative continues in the Reels video titled *Main terus ke gereja, ga bahaya ta?* [Keep going to church, it's not dangerous, right?], which features a collaboration between the GKP Ujung Berung Youth Commission and Jakatarub in the SERASI (School of Tolerance) program. The activity showcases a warm and friendly atmosphere in interfaith interactions through creative activities such as playing cards, drawing, and sharing stories. Comments like “*Hatur nuhun akang teteh semua! Kami belajar banyak sekali! Nanti kita gantian yaaa! Kami main ke rumah teman-teman* [Thank you so much, everyone! We learned so much! Let's take turns next time! We'll visit our friends' homes]”, reflect the warm reception and mutual enthusiasm for building interfaith relationships on equal terms. These comments not only demonstrate appreciation but also highlight how digital spaces can expand encounters and strengthen interfaith solidarity (Jakatarub, 2024j).

The feed Sisi Lain dari *Kunjungan Bapa Suci Paus Fransiskus ke Indonesia* [The Other Side of Pope Francis' Visit to Indonesia] highlights a broad perspective on the significance of the visit. In addition to celebrating a grand mass as a symbol of religious freedom, the content includes a critical narrative: “*Perlindungan atas kebebasan beribadah seharusnya tidak hadir hanya saat momen besar* [Protection of religious freedom should not be limited to major events]”. One comment from a public account of a Catholic priest states, “*Kami tersanjung udah menjaga pemimpin kami... yuk bisa yuk menjaga harmoni bangsa* [We are honored to have protected our leader... let's work together to maintain national harmony]”. This signifies both appreciation and encouragement for more consistent protection of religious freedom (Jakatarub, 2024m).

Such discussions were also seen in the content of “NGABERS: *Ngobrolkeun Kebebasan Beragama*”, a face-to-face discussion presented in a relaxed and interactive format at the GKP Synod Office, as part of the Temu Nawangsih event with Jakatarub (Jakatarub, 2024k). Meanwhile, the Reels titled “*Dialog Antaragama: Kegiatan Spiritual Pengeling-eling Kelahiran Pancasila* [Interfaith Dialogue: Spiritual Activities Commemorating the Birth of Pancasila]” showcase the spiritual practices of the Penghayat Kepercayaan community. Although simple, this expression demonstrates that faith is not always expressed formally, but remains valid and meaningful in a diverse society, while also emphasizing the importance of recognizing religious diversity (Jakatarub, 2024d).

The theme of social harmony is embodied in the content of “*Potret simbol Moderasi Beragama di Kampung Rehobot Indramayu* [Portrait of Religious Moderation in Rehobot Village, Indramayu]”, which depicts practices of living together without religious barriers, including in the management of burial grounds and shared dining traditions (Jakatarub, 2024l). A similar model is highlighted in “Excerpts from *NIKREUH Activities*,” where 120 participants from various religions visited places of worship in rotation as part of interfaith education based on direct experience (Jakatarub, 2024c).

This narrative of harmony is reinforced in the content of “Golden Triangle: Inspirational Stories of Interfaith Tolerance” from Bekasi, where three neighboring houses of worship symbolize harmony that is maintained through the active participation of residents (Jakatarub, 2024g). Meanwhile, the “*Anjangsana: Bandung Lautan Damai (BaLaD)*” initiative demonstrates Jakatarub's direct involvement in fostering interfaith relations through visits to communities practicing traditional beliefs, particularly the Aliran Kebatinan Perjalanan (AKP) organization in Ciparay, Bandung Regency. This activity is part of the *BaLaD* agenda aimed at creating equal spaces for encounter, strengthening social inclusion, and expanding the horizons of interfaith dialogue at the grassroots level (Jakatarub, 2024a).

Overall, an analysis of 128 Jakatarub Instagram posts throughout 2024 shows that most of the content focuses on efforts to build narratives of diversity through a dialogical and participatory approach. The theme of interfaith dialogue dominates, indicating that Jakatarub consistently showcases activities involving interfaith encounters, ranging from discussions, visits to places of worship, to community collaborations. Meanwhile, the theme of social harmony ranks second, showcasing interactions among residents that transcend religious identity boundaries and emphasize inclusive communal living. On the other hand, the theme of religious tolerance appears in more symbolic and reflective forms, such as quotes, short stories, and expressions of daily spirituality.

Several important patterns can be drawn from this data. First, the dominance of the interfaith dialogue theme at 41% confirms that digital spaces are used to encourage real interaction and mutual understanding, not just symbolic campaigns. Second, the narrative of social harmony at 38% shows that values of diversity are more easily accepted by the public when manifested in the form of grounded social experiences, such as shared traditions, cultural activities, and community work. Third, although the theme

of religious tolerance only accounts for 21%, the messages in this category touch on personal aspects and imply diversity practices on a micro scale, such as tolerance within families, small communities, or daily interactions between neighbors. In general, the tone of communication in these contents is positive, inclusive, and does not provoke open conflict. Although criticism is still present, it mostly takes the form of subtle satire or social reflection, indicating the audience's closeness to the values being offered.

These findings show that the process of religious mediatization in the digital context is not only a matter of message delivery but is also closely related to how the public perceives and internalizes the values of diversity through the media. Instagram, in this case, does not merely function as a distribution tool but also as a social space where collective meaning negotiation takes place. Jakatarub's strategy appears to integrate media as a channel (by utilizing algorithms, design, and platform features), as a language (by adapting Instagram's distinctive visual and narrative style), and as an environment (by creating a digital space that enables dialogue and emotional engagement with the audience). Through this approach, Jakatarub has succeeded in making Instagram not only a communication tool but also an arena for the production of religious meaning that is alive and contextual. On the other hand, the active participation of followers shows that the audience is involved in shaping discourse, sharing meanings, and expanding the space for tolerance through reflective and participatory digital practices.

Mediatization Strategy

The mediatization strategy implemented by Jakatarub on its Instagram account reflects new ways of communicating values of interfaith tolerance in the digital age. In this context, media not only serves as a tool for conveying messages, but also shapes ways of thinking, communicating, and interacting socially. Referring to the theoretical framework developed by Hjarvard and Meyrowitz regarding the expansion of media functions through three ways: Media as Conduits, Media as Language, and Media as Environment (Fakhrurroji, 2021; Hjarvard, 2013; Meyrowitz, 1999). These three dimensions interact in shaping how Jakatarub communicates values of religious tolerance to its audience. Through visual analysis, language, communication style, and presentation style of posts, it is evident how Jakatarub leverages Instagram features to build an effective communication strategy within the context of the mediatization of religion.

Media as Conduits

Within the framework of media as conduits, Instagram is used by Jakatarub as the main distribution channel to convey messages of tolerance widely and quickly. This platform is strategically utilized through features such as Reels, Stories, and Feed, which support content dissemination with the help of digital algorithms. One example of its application is seen in the feed post promoting the “*NGABERS: Ngobrolkeun Kebebasan Beragama*” event, published on 2024 (Jakatarub, 2024k).



Figure 2. Visual “NGABERS”, 2024.

In Figure 2, this content utilizes a vertical static image format tailored to Instagram's display preferences, accompanied by thematic hashtags (#freedomofreligion, #tolerance) and tagging of community partner accounts to expand audience distribution. From a visual design perspective, the post features a blue-purple background combined with white and light yellow graphic elements, along with the modern sans-serif font Poppins in bold weight, making the text “NGABERS” easy to read and stand out. The illustration of twelve young figures with diverse attributes (some wearing hijabs and some not) represents diversity in identity. Linguistically, the title “Ngobrolkeun,” a Sundanese word meaning “to talk about,” combined with the casual caption style “What are you waiting for?! Sign up now to become *SI PALING TOLERANSI* [THE MOST TOLERANT], creates a familiar and inclusive vibe that resonates with the daily lives of young people.

Meanwhile, the Reels video titled “*Cuplikan Kegiatan NIKREUH*” (NIKREUH Activity Highlights), utilizes the vertical short video format characteristic of Reels to reach a wider audience through Instagram's algorithm (Jakatarub, 2024c). This content includes location tagging features for the activity and collaboration with community partner accounts, enabling distribution through two audience channels simultaneously. Thematic hashtags such as #nikreuh2024 and #keragaman emphasize the theme of diversity being highlighted. Visually, the Reels feature an earthy color palette with shades of brown and green foliage, creating a natural and familiar feel.



Figure 3. Reels “Cuplikan Kegiatan NIKREUH”, 2024.

In figure 3, white overlay text is placed at the top of the screen in a large enough size to be clearly legible without distracting from the main visual. The language style used in the caption is neutral and inclusive, such as the phrase “*Semoga kebersamaan kita terus terjaga* [May our togetherness continue to be preserved]”, which supports the delivery of a message of diversity without emphasizing any particular cultural identity.

Meanwhile, the Reels video “*Main terus ke gereja, ga bahaya ta?* [Keep going to church, it’s not dangerous, right?]”, utilizes a short video format with the Collaborator feature together with the @pemrem_gkpuber account, which expands the audience reach across communities (Jakatarub, 2024j). This content uses popular hashtags (#interfaithdialogue, #bandunglautandamai), tags the location of the activity, and includes a Linktree link in the bio to direct the audience to further information channels. From a visual design perspective, the video opens with an individual speaking directly to the camera, creating a personal and familiar feel.



Figure 4. Keep going to church, it's not dangerous, right?", 2024.

In figure 4, white overlay text in bold font at the top of the screen highlights the provocative phrase “*ga bahaya ta?*” (isn't it dangerous?), which serves as the main hook. The neutral background and bright lighting make the facial expressions clear, while the next scene shows people playing cards together in a church hall, reinforcing the impression of inclusiveness and familiarity. Linguistically, the title and caption blend Indonesian with Sundanese slang, creating a casual style relevant to a young audience, as seen in the caption “*pertemuan itu bermakna dan menumbuhkan persahabatan lintas iman* [The meeting was meaningful and fostered interfaith friendship]”. This reinforces the message that interfaith gatherings are not only formal but also enjoyable and break down barriers of difference. Such a linguistic style is not only culturally relevant but also effective in bridging the gap between issues considered sensitive and the everyday reality of the digital audience.

The analyzed content series shows that Jakatarub consciously uses Instagram as a strategic communication channel to spread messages of interfaith tolerance. Through the selection of Reels formats optimized by distribution algorithms, the use of features such as thematic hashtags, location tags, account collaborations, and the contextual arrangement of visuals and language, this content successfully reaches and actively engages the audience. The success of this distribution strategy is reflected in interaction metrics, such as the Reels post “Keep going to church, it’s not dangerous, right?” which received 112 likes and dozens of comments within two days of publication. This achievement confirms that technical and creative aspects of content distribution are an important foundation for Jakatarub in expanding digital resonance on the issue of religious diversity, especially among young people and the wider online community.

Media as Language

In the dimension of Media as Language, mediatization does not merely position media as a channel for messages, but as a language a set of styles, formats, and communication logic that influence how messages are encoded, interpreted, and perceived by the audience. Jakatarub adapts Instagram's communication logic to convey a narrative of religious tolerance. In line with the ideas of Altheide and Snow cited in Fakhruroji (2021), mediatization here is understood as the process of adapting religious practices to align with the formats and operational mechanisms of media. On social media platforms like Instagram, this is evident in how content is structured to follow formats that are common and favored by users: from fast-paced narratives, casual language, the use of visual symbols and emojis, to storytelling structures that follow the hook-body-call to action pattern. Effective content not only conveys substantive messages but also presents them in a form that aligns with the rhythm and expectations of the digital realm, making the medium not merely a vehicle but an integral part of the message itself.

One example that reflects the use of Instagram as a digital language is a Reels titled "*Main terus ke gereja, ga bahaya ta?* [Keep going to church, it's not dangerous, right?]" (Jakatarub, 2024j). This content utilizes the narrative structure typical of social media, beginning with a rhetorical question as a hook, followed by a brief explanation of interfaith interaction, and ending with a reflective invitation. The language style used is casual, inclusive, and designed to pique the curiosity of a young audience, as reflected in the caption "The meeting was meaningful and fostered interfaith friendship." The use of emoticons and popular hashtags such as #tolerance, #interfaithdialogue, and #bandungseasofpeace further reinforces the impression that this content is designed to create emotional closeness while expanding its reach. Visually, text overlays and emoji symbols are dynamically displayed to follow the narrative flow, ensuring the message is conveyed quickly without losing substance. This adaptation to digital communication logic demonstrates how Jakatarub aligns the form, language, and rhythm of message delivery to remain relevant and engaging on social media platforms.

The feed content titled "*NGABERS: Ngobrolkeun Kebebasan Beragama* [Talking about Freedom of Religion]", also shows how Jakatarub uses Instagram not only as a medium but also as a distinctive digital communication language. The narrative of this content is structured in a way that is familiar to social media users: it opens with illustrative visuals and a lighthearted call to action, then presents key information about the interfaith discussion agenda, and concludes with an invitation to participate by registering and attending. The language style in the caption blends formal Indonesian and Sundanese, as seen in the phrase "*Tunggu apalagi?! Yuk daftarin diri kamu biar jadi SI PALING TOLERANSI* [What are you waiting for?! Let's sign up so you can be THE MOST TOLERANT ONE]", which adds a local yet inclusive touch. Jakatarub also includes hashtags like #religiousfreedom and #youth, which serve as topic markers and digital distribution tools. The visual content is supported by animated illustrations of twelve figures, six women and six men, with a bright blue-purple background and bold, easy-to-read typography. This narrative strategy not only serves as event promotion but also shapes how the audience feels connected, engaged, and motivated to participate in digital discussions about diversity.

Through the use of visual language, casual tone, and digital communication logic that aligns with user habits, these contents reinforce Instagram's role as a language of mediatization that builds emotional closeness while facilitating the interpretation of tolerance values.

Media as Environment

The dimension of media as an environment is manifested in the way Jakatarub creates a digital discursive space that enables dialogue between religious communities. Hoover and Echchaibi state that digital media creates new spaces for religious practices that are not limited by geographical and institutional boundaries (Hoover & Echchaibi, 2014).

One concrete example of how Instagram is used by Jakatarub as a digital living space can be seen in a Reels post titled “*Cuplikan Kegiatan NIKREUH* (Excerpts from *NIKREUH* Activities)” (Jakatarub, 2024c). This content documents offline interfaith activities that were then brought online as an effort to form a sense of community that transcends physical boundaries. Visually, this Reels post shows video clips of young people from various religious backgrounds engaging in discussions, group games, and even sharing meals together. This representation conveys a concrete and tangible message of diversity, making interfaith togetherness not just an idea but a visible and living social practice. The caption used is brief and inclusive: “*Semoga kebersamaan kita terus terjaga* [May our togetherness continue to be preserved]”.

The Reels post titled “*Main terus ke gereja, ga bahaya ta?* [Keep going to church, it’s not dangerous, right?]”, also shows how Instagram is utilized as a digital space that supports interfaith interaction (Jakatarub, 2024j). This short Reels video shows a casual gathering, including playing cards together inside a church. The visuals use a vertical video format with bright lighting and overlay text that follows the narrative flow. The caption reads, “The gathering was meaningful and fostered interfaith friendship.” Some audience comments show enthusiasm and closeness, such as “Thank you so much, everyone! We learned so much! Let’s take turns next time! We’ll visit our friends’ homes” and “So much fun!” Such interactions show that the content not only communicates values but also fosters a sense of belonging in the digital space. By creating a warm, light-hearted, and non-judgmental atmosphere, Jakatarub transforms Instagram from merely a message delivery platform into a shared space of meaning where identity and tolerance are actively negotiated by its online community.

The documentation content “Recap of the GKI Kebonjati x Jakatarub bukber activity”, is another example of the use of Instagram as a digital living space that emphasizes the value of togetherness (Jakatarub, 2024e). This video captures moments of interfaith breaking the fast, when participants from the Christian and Muslim communities sat side by side in a relaxed and open atmosphere. The visual content features a long table with various dishes, without dominant religious symbols, maintaining a neutral and inclusive tone. The caption used explains the joint iftar event in simple, non exclusive language. The comment section is mostly filled with expressions of appreciation and encouragement for such activities to continue.

The integration of the three dimensions of mediatization shows that Jakatarub not only uses Instagram as a tool for disseminating information but also as a space for constructing meaning regarding religious tolerance. Couldry and Hepp emphasize that mediatization changes how social and cultural practices are organized and interpreted, not merely conveying messages (Couldry & Hepp, 2018). This perspective aligns with the social constructivist tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1966), who view social reality as a collective construction through communication. Jakatarub’s strategies, ranging from documenting offline activities in the *NIKREUH* Activity Reels, using inclusive visual design in *NGABERS* content, to the casual conversational style in the Keep Going to Church Reels, form a widely accepted representation of tolerance. These three dimensions of mediatization operate simultaneously: media as a distribution channel, language that frames meaning, and a digital environment that creates a sense of belonging across faiths. The digital environment created also enables dialogue on diversity that may be

difficult to achieve in physical spaces due to social or institutional barriers. Thus, Jakatarub's mediatization practices reflect how digital media can be strategically used to shape and disseminate values of tolerance in a diverse society.

Audience Response

In analyzing audience responses to Jakatarub's Instagram posts, the netnography approach developed by Robert Kozinets was used as the main framework. This method allows for an ethnographic reading of online communication practices by paying attention to the context, emotions, and meanings that come alive in interactions in the comments section. More specifically, *Cyber Media Analysis* (CMA) is applied across four levels: media space, media documents, media objects, and user experience. At the media space level, Instagram is not merely a platform for distributing visual information but a social arena where discursive practices, participation, and negotiations of diversity take place. This is evident in audience comments that are not merely spontaneous but also contain reflections, support, and collective constructions of tolerance values (Kozinets, 2010; Lindlof & Taylor, 2017).

Audience responses to Jakatarub's Instagram content show a wide and meaningful spectrum of responses, which can generally be classified into four main categories: Supportive Comments, Reflective Comments, Questioning/Neutral Comments, and Critical/Contrary Comments. This categorization helps trace the dynamics of public perception of the narrative of diversity constructed digitally by Jakatarub. To clarify the variety of audience responses to the diversity narrative constructed by Jakatarub, the classification of comments can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Classification of comments

Comment Category	Main Characteristics	Sample Comments	Meaning/Implication
Supportive Comments	Appreciative, enthusiastic, builds a sense of togetherness.	"So fun!", "Buying lollipops in Cisangkuy of course I'm in!", "Thank you so much, everyone! We learned a lot!"	Reflects positive reception of the tolerance narrative and emotional engagement from the audience.
Reflective Comments	Contains deep thought, spirituality, or personal transformation.	"The essence of diversity is HARMONY.", "The more diverse, the brighter we shine 🔥🔥", "We are honored to protect our leader... let's protect national harmony ❤️", "I still carry stigma, but I've learned a lot..."	Indicates internalization of values and the role of digital space as a place for contemplation and transformation of awareness.
Neutral/Inquiry Comments	Asking about technical or logistical	"Is this event open to the public? And how much is the fee?"	Shows interest in participation and highlights the importance of

	information without strong emotional tone.	“Can Christians join too, admin? hehe” “Hi admin, there’s an error the response link no longer works.”	transparency and accessibility in interfaith activities.
Critical/Opposing Comments	Subtle sarcasm or evaluative remarks on social realities that diverge from the narrative.	“Hello Bandung, how’s it going?” “...What’s sad is that the crematorium was rejected by churches and mosques. Even though modern crematoriums are clean, no pollution. The reason was shocking ‘that’s a corpse, aren’t you scared.’ Wow... How about fearing sin instead. Afraid of corpses but not of sin.”	Shows that the tolerance narrative prompts critical reflection on local issues. Indicates that the audience not only consumes content, but also compares and evaluates it critically.

Referring to table 1 above, each category of comments has different characteristics and implications in describing how the audience responds to the narrative of diversity constructed by Jakatarub. The first category is supportive comments. These comments are appreciative and enthusiastic, showing positive acceptance of the message of diversity being conveyed. Supportive comments are usually accompanied by expressions of gratitude, friendly greetings, or jokes that reflect a warm atmosphere. Supportive comments are one of the most dominant forms of response. The audience not only shows interest in the content displayed but also expresses a sense of togetherness and involvement. In a post themed “Chinese New Year Night Tour,” for example, lighthearted comments such as “So much fun” or “Buy lollipops in Cisangkuy, why not?” appear, showing enthusiasm and familiarity. Expressions of appreciation are also seen in content about church visits, where the audience writes.

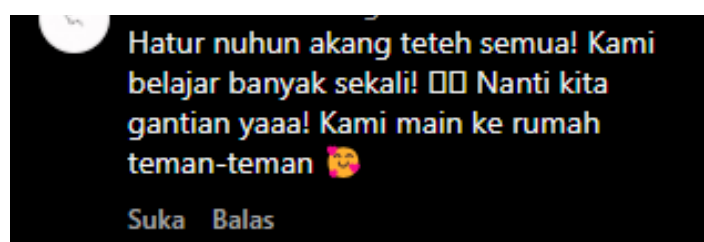


Figure 5. Excerpts from comments on the post Keep going to church, it’s not dangerous, right?

This, as shown in figure 5, is reinforced by other comments expressing support, such as “The danger is church bombs, not playing in churches ❤️.” Comments like these show that the message of diversity has been positively received and internalized as a form of mutual solidarity.

The second category is reflective comments. These comments reflect deeper thinking or spiritual contemplation on the meaning of diversity. The language style used tends to be longer and more serious, sometimes poetic or hopeful. In the reels *What Does Diversity Mean According to Jakatarub x Iteng Gugat*, the audience shared personal reflections through comments such as “*Hakikat daripada keberagaman adalah HARMONY* [The essence of diversity is HARMONY] or *Makin beragam, makin manyala* [The more diverse, the more vibrant 🔥]” (Jakatarub, 2024b). A more spiritual interpretation is also evident in the post about Pope Francis' visit to Indonesia, where a priest comments, “On behalf of myself and as a priest, I extend my highest regards to all my fellow Indonesians. We are honored to have such a leader; this is proof that our country can be safe and peaceful... let's all work together to maintain national harmony ❤️” (Jakatarub, 2024m). Even in the content of the *Work Dialogue: Laskar & Mennonite*, a user honestly admitted, “I still have a stigma, but I'm learning...” Comments like this show that the digital space is not only a medium for information but also a contemplative space that allows for the transformation of consciousness and the dismantling of prejudices (Nastiti et al., 2018).

The third category is neutral or questioning comments. These comments focus more on requesting information or clarification without strong emotional content. Questioning comments show practical interest in the activity while emphasizing the importance of transparency on the part of the organizers. An example can be seen in the *Bukber GKI Kebonjati X Jakatarub* post, where someone asked, “Is this activity open to the public? And how much does it cost?” and another comment, “Can Christians join too?” which emphasizes curiosity about the event's openness to participants of different religions (Jakatarub, 2024e). Meanwhile, in the promotion of the *Young Leader Interfaith Camp* event, technical comments such as, “Hello, there is an error; the link to the answer is no longer accessible,” indicate practical concern for ensuring that information is easily accessible to potential participants (Jakatarub, 2024n). Such questions indicate interest in participating but still require further clarification before deciding to join.

Finally, critical or opposing comments are present, though in relatively small numbers. These comments contain evaluations, sarcasm, or critical assessments of the narrative being constructed. The presence of such comments is important because it shows that the audience is not merely passively receiving the message but also questioning its relevance to real-world social conditions. For example, in a post about Singkawang as the most tolerant city, a user wrote a subtle sarcasm, “Hello Bandung, how are you?” This brief comment is rich in meaning and serves as a mirror that prompts other audiences to compare their own regional situations (Jakatarub, 2024i). Another example can be seen in a post about religious freedom in Indonesia, when a user sharply criticized the rejection of the construction of a crematorium by some parties (Jakatarub, 2024f). He wrote,

“...Yang sedih lagi itu krematorium ditolak gereja dan masjid. Padahal krematorium modern kan bersih, tidak ada eksek/cemaran ke lingkungan. Alasannya bikin miris agak ngakan ‘itu mayat, lu ga takut.’ Uwaduh... Takut itu mbok takut berbuat dosa, kek. Takut mayat tapi ga takut dosa.”

[What's even sadder is that crematoriums are rejected by churches and mosques. Even though modern crematoriums are clean and don't pollute the environment. The reason given is heartbreaking: ‘It's a dead body, aren't you afraid?’ Oh dear... If you're afraid, be afraid of sinning. You're afraid of dead bodies but not afraid of sin].

This comment not only mocks irrational fears but also highlights the inconsistency between claims of tolerance and everyday social practices. Such comments serve as a marker of the dynamics of public discourse on social media. While dominant narratives often celebrate harmony or freedom, critical responses open up space for reflection on a more complex and often contradictory reality. By voicing

discomfort or disagreement, the audience helps enrich the discourse, invites other perspectives, and encourages more honest discussions about the challenges of diversity in Indonesia.

From all the responses collected in the Jakatarub Instagram comments section, it appears that supportive comments are the most dominant form of response. Expressions such as “Awesome!”, “Thank you so much, sir/madam!”, casual greetings, and heart emojis are characteristic of interactions that reflect positive acceptance of the content while reinforcing the narrative of diversity by fostering a sense of community and emotional closeness between the community and its followers. Additionally, reflective comments emerge, indicating that the audience does not merely passively consume the messages but also contemplates the meaning behind the uploaded content. The communication style used tends to be informal and expressive, marked by local greetings such as “*akang*,” “*teteh*,” or “*min*,” as well as the use of emojis to convey emotions. This shows that the Jakatarub Instagram comment section has developed into a familiar, inclusive, and interactive forum for dialogue, where values of tolerance are built participatively by the digital community.

Based on an analysis of the variety of comments that appear in Jakatarub's Instagram posts, it can be concluded that the mediatization practices carried out have succeeded in opening up a participatory space for the audience. The interactions that occur show that social media, in this case Instagram Jakatarub, has transformed into a social ecosystem that facilitates cross-identity encounters, enables personal reflection, and expands the understanding of diversity as part of a shared life that is continuously negotiated (Couldry & Hepp, 2018; Kozinets, 2010). The comments present are not merely reactive but also reflect emotional engagement, active support, and collective identity negotiation processes. Each comment whether in the form of appreciation, questions, reflections, or criticism is a small fragment of a broader social construction regarding how religious diversity is interpreted, celebrated, and questioned in the current digital context. In this context, Jakatarub not only conveys messages but also creates a dialogical ecosystem that enables the exchange of views, the dismantling of prejudices, and the formation of interfaith solidarity through social media.

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal that the harmony narratives constructed by Jakatarub on Instagram in 2024 were dominated by the interfaith dialogue theme (41%), followed by social harmony (38%), and religious tolerance (21%). These narratives were realized through documentation of interfaith activities, community collaborations, and reflections on tolerance values, all presented in inclusive visual and linguistic styles. The mediatization strategies employed encompassed three dimensions: media as conduits (utilizing features such as Reels, Feed, Stories, hashtags, location tags, and account collaborations), media as language (adapting to Instagram's communication logic through casual language, visual symbols, and digital storytelling structures), and media as environment (creating participatory and dialogical online interaction spaces). The analysis of audience comments revealed four categories of responses: supportive, reflective, neutral/questioning, and critical/opposing, with positive responses dominating. These findings affirm that Instagram functions not only as a message distribution channel but also as an arena for negotiating meaning and fostering interfaith solidarity.

From an explanatory perspective, these results can be understood through the theoretical framework of Meyrowitz as adopted by Hjarvard (2008b) on the expanded functions of media. In the media as conduits dimension, Jakatarub utilized Instagram as a distribution channel that maximized algorithms, visual formats, and account collaborations to broaden the reach of tolerance messages. In the

media as language dimension, Instagram's communication logic influenced how messages were constructed—from the use of casual language and symbolic visuals to story structures appealing to young audiences—making the medium an integral part of the message itself. In the media as environment dimension, Instagram became a social space facilitating cross-identity encounters, enabling audiences not only to consume messages but also to actively participate in building the discourse of harmony. The integration of these three dimensions explains why Jakatarub's content effectively fostered emotional closeness and public participation in the discourse on tolerance.

Compared to previous research, these findings align with earlier works emphasizing the role of interfaith communities, as noted by Wahyuni (2018) and Farida (2015), in showing that media can serve as a key pillar in building inclusive dialogue spaces. They also confirm Hjarvard's theory that digital media functions not only as a channel but also as a cultural actor shaping religious experiences, as similarly observed in the studies of Nurillah (2024), Asih (2023), and Arafah et al. (2023). However, this study offers novelty by combining the analysis of visual-narrative mediatization strategies and audience responses simultaneously, which have previously tended to be studied separately. Furthermore, the focus on the local context of West Java—where intolerance levels remain relatively high—adds a new contribution to the literature by highlighting how community-driven counter-narratives can offset the dominance of conservative discourse and hate speech on social media.

Historically, the findings reflect the continuity of interfaith dialogue traditions in Indonesia, which were previously conducted predominantly in physical spaces but have now migrated to digital spaces without losing the essence of face-to-face interaction. This shift aligns with the global evolution of interfaith dialogue that has developed since the late 19th century, where early challenges laid the foundation for modern practices (Ilić, 2012; Lehmann, 2021). Advances in digital technology—including the internet, social media, and virtual communication platforms—have expanded the reach of these dialogues, enabling more inclusive participation, strengthening grassroots movements, and increasing youth engagement (Fuentes Rodríguez & Brenes Peña, 2021; Good, 2019). The migration to digital spaces requires a redefinition of dialogue forms, as virtual interactions have unique characteristics such as the absence of physical presence, the creation of virtual identities, and the potential to enhance cross-border educational and cultural exchanges (Dalola, 2022; Nilsen, 2012). Social media now functions as a participatory space that strengthens community engagement and amplifies local voices, although it continues to face challenges such as misinformation, social conformity, and the digital divide—issues that must be addressed to ensure that digital interfaith dialogue remains effective and inclusive (Bhatt & Dani, 2024; Flores & Morales, 2024; Rifat et al., 2024).

Socially, the findings indicate that social media can serve as a binding agent of *social cohesion* through positive and participatory narratives that transcend religious, ethnic, and cultural identity boundaries. In line with recent studies, social media has been proven to strengthen community engagement through two-way communication that fosters active participation in social change, cross-cultural collaboration, and inclusive intergroup interaction (Selim & Popovac, 2023). In times of crisis, social media also facilitates emergent social cohesion, characterized by the formation of temporary social networks to share information and provide support, as observed during disasters such as Hurricane Harvey (Fan et al., 2020). Furthermore, digital platforms can expand political and civic participation, mobilize collective action, and strengthen a sense of belonging within both local and global communities (Boulianne, 2019). Nevertheless, challenges such as misinformation, the digital divide, and the potential weakening of traditional community structures remain factors that can hinder social cohesion (Selim, 2023; Üblacker et al., 2024). By understanding these dynamics, strategies for leveraging social media to

build inclusive social cohesion can be designed more effectively, maximizing the potential of digital platforms as spaces for interaction and shared solidarity.

Ideologically, Jakatarub's communication strategy demonstrates a paradigm shift from hierarchical religious communication toward a participatory model, in which discursive authority does not reside solely with religious leaders or institutions but also with communities and individuals actively engaged in digital conversations. This shift aligns with the concept of participatory religious communication, an approach that places active community involvement at the center of the process, ensuring that their voices and perspectives are integral to dialogue and decision-making (Msibi & Penzhorn, 2010; Musakophas & Polnigongit, 2017). In religious contexts, such participation can be seen through the role of faith-based organizations, religious gatherings, and places of worship as spaces for knowledge building, community strengthening, and integrating religious values with local wisdom in addressing social and environmental issues (Akhda et al., 2019). Participation also impacts religious education, where participatory learning fosters positive attitudes and enriches religious experience (Riegel & Kindermann, 2016), as well as in community-based participatory research used to address social justice and mental health issues within religious settings (Conde-Frazier, 2006; Hankerson et al., 2018). Moreover, the use of digital media expands participatory spaces by enabling the reconstruction of religious memory and identity through interactive media, thereby strengthening spiritual resonance and connections to religious heritage.

Reflection on these findings reveals both functions and dysfunctions. Functionally, this research demonstrates that community mediatization strategies can serve as effective instruments in building tolerance-oriented counter-narratives and expanding interfaith dialogue spaces in the digital era. This not only strengthens social capital but also creates a more inclusive and reflective communication ecosystem. However, a potential dysfunction lies in dependence on commercial platforms such as Instagram, whose algorithms and content distribution policies are beyond community control. This condition demands effective content moderation to prevent comment sections from becoming arenas for reproducing stereotypes or sparking debates that trigger new polarization. Content moderation on social media is a complex process that combines human and automated systems to filter and manage user-generated content, with the goal of creating a safe and inclusive online environment (Li, 2018). Moderation approaches can take the form of human moderation—conducted by employees or community volunteers—which offers transparency but is vulnerable to bias (Cook, 2021), or automated moderation based on machine learning models that process data quickly but often lack contextual sensitivity (Prem & Krenn, 2024). Hybrid models combining AI with human oversight are considered more accurate and efficient. Challenges include transparency, public trust, scalability, algorithmic bias, and balancing moderation with freedom of expression within legal frameworks such as the *Digital Services Act* (Quintais et al., 2023). Therefore, the success of mediatization strategies such as those implemented by Jakatarub requires adaptive, transparent content moderation that upholds user rights, ensuring that digital spaces remain healthy and constructive arenas for interfaith dialogue.

Based on the findings regarding the potential dysfunction of Jakatarub's mediatization strategy—particularly its dependence on commercial platforms such as Instagram with algorithms and content distribution policies beyond community control, as well as the risk of comment sections becoming sites for stereotype reproduction and polarization—a policy action plan is needed that emphasizes strengthening community digital autonomy and adaptive content moderation. This plan includes developing alternative, more autonomous distribution channels; implementing hybrid moderation models that combine artificial intelligence with human oversight to maintain accuracy and contextual sensitivity; and applying transparency protocols in content removal or labeling to build audience trust.

Furthermore, continuous digital literacy training for community members and audiences is essential to raise awareness of algorithmic bias, media ethics, and strategies to mitigate potentially conflict-triggering speech. Governments and relevant stakeholders should also develop regulations that promote algorithmic transparency and platform accountability, while providing resource support for community-based interfaith dialogue initiatives in digital spaces.

CONCLUSION

This study finds that Jakatarub's digital communication strategy on Instagram consistently constructs an interreligious harmony narrative through three main pillars: the construction of a narrative of tolerance, the application of a mediatization strategy encompassing media as conduits, media as language, and media as environment, and the opening of a participatory space for audiences to respond, reflect, and engage in dialogue. The findings demonstrate that social media, when strategically managed, can serve as an effective medium to expand interfaith dialogue, strengthen social cohesion, and transfer the tradition of face-to-face interaction into the digital sphere without losing the essence of human closeness. The interactions that occur in the comment sections are not only appreciative but also reflective and critical, indicating the presence of an active process of meaning negotiation in the digital space.

Scientifically, this research makes a significant contribution to enriching studies on religious mediatization and netnography in Indonesia, particularly in the context of grassroots communities that utilize social media to shape tolerance discourse in a participatory manner. The integration of theoretical perspectives from Hjarvard and Meyrowitz in this study maps the functions of media not only as a channel for message distribution but also as a language that frames meaning and as a social environment that facilitates new religious experiences in the digital era. This approach shows that communities such as Jakatarub can adapt the logic of digital media to strengthen diversity values while simultaneously expanding the reach and relevance of their messages among younger audiences.

The limitation of this study lies in the scope of data, which focuses only on one community account and a specific period of time, thus not yet capturing long-term dynamics or variations across social media platforms. In addition, access to algorithmic data and content distribution mechanisms is restricted by the policies of commercial platforms such as Instagram, which can affect the dissemination and visibility of messages. Future research can expand the scope to include various communities across regions, employ cross-platform analysis, and integrate digital trace data methods to understand more comprehensive and in-depth interaction patterns. In doing so, future studies are expected to provide a broader picture of the potentials and challenges of mediatization in promoting interfaith dialogue in the digital space.

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