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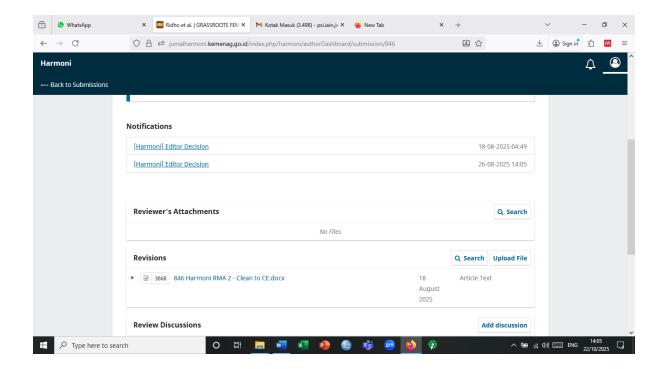
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GRASSROOTS FEMINIST NETWORKS AND INTERFAITH SOLIDARITY AGAINST RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE: A DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY FROM INDONESIA

Akhsin Ridho
Universitas Islam Negeri Siber Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, West Java, Indonesia
psi.iain.jember@gmail.com

Moh. Uzaer Damairi
Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember, East Java, Indonesia
muhammaduzaer@uinkhas.ac.id

Akrimi Matswah
University of Freiburg Jerman
Email: akrimi.matswah@orient.uni-freiburg.de

Abstract

This study investigates how grassroots feminist networks in Java confront religious intolerance through digital activism. Amid escalating online hate speech and rising religious conservatism in Indonesia, these networks have strategically mobilized social media to construct counter-narratives that challenge patriarchal and exclusionary religious discourses. Employing digital ethnography, the research analyzeds online interactions, campaign materials, and symbolic expressions across feminist platforms from 2020 to 2024. The findings reveal that these networks foster inclusive interfaith alliances and cultivate alternative safe spaces for marginalized voices—particularly women and religious minority groups. While digital platforms offer avenues for empowerment and visibility, activists also contend with backlash in the form of online harassment and ideological suppression. Although the study is limited to digital data and lacks offline ethnographic immersion, it offers original insights into the intersections of gender, religion, and digital resistance in Southeast Asia. It contributes to the growing literature on feminist digital activism and underscores the need for comparative, cross-platform research in future studies.

Keywords: feminist activism, religious intolerance, digital ethnography, grassroots networks, Southeast Asiafeminist activism, religious intolerance, grassroots networks

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana jaringan feminis akar rumput di Jawa melawan intoleransi beragama melalui aktivisme digital. Di tengah meningkatnya ujaran kebencian daring dan menguatnya konservatisme di Indonesia, jaringan ini memanfaatkan media sosial untuk membangun kontra-narasi yang menantang wacana patriarkal dan eksklusif dalam agama. Dengan menggunakan etnografi digital, penelitian ini menganalisis interaksi daring, materi kampanye, dan ekspresi simbolik pada berbagai platform feminis sepanjang 2020 hingga 2024. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa jaringan tersebut mendorong aliansi lintas iman yang inklusif serta menciptakan ruang alternatif yang aman bagi suara-suara terpinggirkan, khususnya perempuan

dan kelompok minoritas agama. Meskipun platform digital membuka ruang pemberdayaan, aktivis juga menghadapi serangan balik berupa perundungan daring dan penindasan ideologis. Penelitian ini terbatas pada data digital tanpa keterlibatan etnografi luring. Kendati demikian, penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi orisinal terhadap kajian persinggungan gender, agama, dan perlawanan digital di Asia Tenggara, memperkaya literatur tentang aktivisme digital feminis, serta menyerukan studi komparatif lintas platform di masa mendatang.

Kata kunci: aktivisme feminis, intoleransi agama, etnografi digital, jaringan akar rumput, Asia Tenggara

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia experienced a marked increase in religiously motivated social tensions in recent years. This trend was evident in large-scale movements such as the 2016–2017 Islamic Defence Action, the #2019GantiPresiden campaign, and mobilizations opposing the 2020 Omnibus Law on Job Creation. These tensions were often fueled by perceptions of injustice and socio-economic inequality that mobilized collective action along religious identity lines (Kuswana et al., 2024). Moreover, interreligious conflicts remained deeply shaped by the historical legacy of Muslim–Christian relations, which had been fraught with suspicion and prejudice since the Dutch colonial period and continued into the post-independence era (Arifianto, 2009). Despite various initiatives—such as religious tolerance education—serious challenges persisted, owing to limited government intervention and the lack of sustained interfaith dialogue (Al Qurtuby, 2025; Parker, 2014).

In this context, grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia turned to digital media as alternative arenas for activism, particularly given the limitations of conventional public spaces. Digital platforms expanded opportunities for women and marginalized groups to participate in public discourse, amplifying voices that had historically been unheard or excluded (McLean, 2018). Digitalization not only facilitated transnational feminist solidarity but also enabled the formation of hybrid online identities, alternative safe spaces, and new modes of resistance. Unlike traditional political organizations, feminist activists used digital technology to construct movements that reflected their values and responded to pressing socio-political challenges (Banerjee & Kankaria, 2022). Global campaigns such as #MeToo and #EverydaySexism illustrated the potential of digital media to challenge sexism and patriarchy (Mendes et al., 2019), even as women activists encountered online harassment and forms of cyberviolence that mirrored patriarchal control in offline spaces (Martínez, 2021). Yet the rise of digital activism also exposed women to intensified forms of social control, cyberviolence, and surveillance (Martínez, 2021).

This study focuses on grassroots feminist networks in urban and semi-urban areas of Indonesia between 2020 and 2025. It explores how activists employed Instagram, Twitter/X, YouTube, and local online forums as platforms for campaigns, advocacy, and community interaction. To analyze the symbols, narratives, and practices that emerged within these networks, the study adopts digital ethnography combined with critical discourse analysis. This methodological approach enables an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of feminist activism in digital spaces and its contributions to shaping socio-religious change in Indonesia.

Women activists' reliance on digital platforms was particularly significant within a context of heightened religious polarization. Social media emerged as a critical channel for self-expression, community-building, and resistance against gender-based violence (Ridho & Sa'ad, 2024). Prior research showed that digital networks enabled activists to respond collectively to violence, harassment, and exclusion (Maryani & Karimah, 2019; Su'ada, 2023). Grassroots feminist movements proactively formed online communities that provided dialogue, advocacy, and solidarity spaces. Aprianti and Pramiyanti (2020), for instance, highlighted how young women used social media to articulate rights-based claims, while Dewi et al. (Budiarti, 2024) demonstrated the role of podcasts and literacy movements in fostering feminist knowledge exchange. Through these platforms, women were able to collectively reflect on experiences of violence and cultivate awareness of gender-based challenges (Wiranata & Putri, 2021).

Digital media also functioned as an alternative public sphere for women whose participation in formal settings was often constrained by social norms. Social platforms created opportunities for advocacy, expression and visibility, even as cases of online gender-based violence escalated particularly during crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic (Hayati, 2021; Sylvina et al., 2023). Social media further bridged gender gaps and enabled women to participate more actively in public life, thus strengthening their civic and political presence (Maryani & Karimah, 2019).

The use of digital media by women activists was therefore not only a strategy of advocacy but also a tool for building solidarity and strengthening women's positions in a society increasingly polarized by religion. These activities enhanced the visibility of gender issues and contributed to broader social change (Hasyim & Makruf, 2022; Pratiwi & Arawindha, 2021). Yet the relationship between grassroots feminism and resistance to religious intolerance in Indonesia remains underexplored. Existing studies largely focused on the interaction between state

policy and community responses (Setiawan et al., 2024) or on religious moderation efforts in education (Khasanah et al., 2023), without adequately addressing how feminist activism intersected with these dynamics.

Indonesia has experienced an increase in religious based social tensions in recent years. This phenomenon can be observed in various significant religion based social movements, such as the 2016-2017 Islamic Defence Action, the #2019GantiPresiden Movement, and the Movement to Reject the 2020 Omnibus Law on Job Creation. These tensions are fuelled by perceptions of injustice and socio-economic inequality that mobilise the masses based on religious identity (Kuswana et al., 2024). In addition, interreligious conflicts in Indonesia are often influenced by a long history of Muslim Christian relations full of suspicion and prejudice, which has its roots in the Dutch colonial period and continues into the post-independence period (Arifianto, 2009). Despite efforts to address these tensions through religious tolerance education, challenges persist due to the lack of serious dialogue and government intervention (Al Qurtuby, 2025; Parker, 2014).

In the digital domain, literature on feminist use of online platforms in Indonesia remained limited (Kebingin et al., 2024). While digital ethnography emerged as a promising approach for analyzing online practices and interactions (Lane & Lingel, 2022), few studies applied it to grassroots feminist networks. Ardèvol and Cruz (2013) emphasized the value of examining media practices through digital ethnography, which opened opportunities for understanding how feminism adapted and evolved in digital contexts. Similarly, Cottica et al. (2020) and Lane and Lingel (2022) highlighted methodological innovations that could shed light on feminist strategies for confronting religious intolerance online. Moreover, resistance to intolerance through art and culture suggested additional avenues for inquiry. Aji et al. (2021) showed how Indonesian indie music functioned as a medium of resistance, raising the question of whether feminist networks similarly mobilized cultural forms to express dissent. Integrating art, gender, and religious resistance within local contexts offers new insights into the interplay of identity and activism.

Grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia have utilised digital media to address the limitations of conventional public spaces. Digital media enables greater participation by women and marginalised identities in public spaces, which may have previously been unheard or unseen (McLean, 2018). Feminist activists are leveraging digital technology to build movements that reflect their values and

confront current challenges, without relying on traditional political organisations or authorities [6]. Feminist campaigns, such as #MeToo and #EverydaySexism, demonstrate how digital media can be utilised to challenge sexism and patriarchy globally (Mendes et al., 2019).

The form of social resistance has shifted from the physical to the digital realm, especially in the struggle for gender and diversity. Feminist activism is now often manifested through blogs, hashtags, e-magazines, and digitally planned protests through online communities (Banerjee & Kankaria, 2022). Digitalisation enables the formation of transnational feminist solidarity and complex netizens' identities, as well as the creation of alternative spaces and new modes of protest. Nonetheless, women active in the digital space often face cyberviolence and strict social controls, which reflect the forms of patriarchal violence that exist in the physical space (Martínez, 2021).

The scope of this research focuses on grassroots feminist networks operating in urban and semi-urban communities in Indonesia from 2020 to 2025. This research will explore how activists use various digital platforms, such as Instagram, Twitter (X), YouTube, and local online forums, as a medium for campaigns and community interactions. To understand the symbols, narratives, and practices that emerge in this digital community, the researcher will employ digital ethnography methods and critical discourse analysis. With this approach, it is hoped that in-depth insights can be gained about the dynamics of feminist activism in the digital space and how it contributes to social change in the religious and gender context in Indonesia.

Increasingly, women activists in Indonesia are utilising digital media in a context marked by religious polarisation. With the increasing influence of religious issues in social life, digital media has served as an alternative channel for women to express themselves and form communities (Ridho & Sa'ad, 2024). Through social media platforms, they seek to respond to various challenges, including gender-based violence that threatens their existence in society. Research indicates that women activists can utilise social media to establish networks that support and respond to gender-based violence (Maryani & Karimah, 2019; Su'ada, 2023).

Grassroots feminist movements have proactively formed online communities, creating spaces for dialogue and advocacy. Research by Aprianti and Pramiyanti highlights the significance of young women's involvement in social media, where they can express and advocate for their rights (Aprianti & Pramiyanti, 2020). In addition, Dewi et al. show that the practice of podcasts and

women's literacy movements is also part of this digital activism, facilitating the exchange of information and knowledge among women (Budiarti, 2024). In the digital age, women have the opportunity to collectively reflect on their experiences and raise awareness about the issues of violence they face (Wiranata & Putri, 2021).

Social media is also a space for women's expression amid limited access to formal public spaces. In Indonesia, where social norms often limit their existence, digital platforms provide greater freedom to share views, experiences, and advocacy. Hayati noted the surge in cases of online gender-based violence, which shows the need for a digital space to discuss and deal with these issues, especially in times of crisis such as the pandemic (Hayati, 2021; Sylvina et al., 2023). According to Kirana et al., social media can also bridge the gender gap and create new opportunities for women to be actively involved in society (Maryani & Karimah, 2019).

The use of digital media by Indonesian women activists in addressing these challenges is not only important for advocacy, but also as a method to build solidarity and strengthen women's voices and positions in a society increasingly polarised by religion. These activities have significant consequences, both in increasing the visibility of gender issues and promoting broader social change (Hasyim & Makruf, 2022; Pratiwi & Arawindha, 2021).

The knowledge gap regarding the relationship between grassroots feminism and resistance to religious intolerance in Indonesia is evident in several key aspects. Much of the current research remains limited to the interaction between government policy and community responses to religious intolerance, without linking it to the dynamics of gender identity that also play a significant role in this arena (Setiawan et al., 2024). The research by Khasanah et al. highlights religious moderation efforts in Islamic education, but does not explore how grassroots feminism can contribute to supporting such policies (Khasanah et al., 2023).

In the context of the digital space, the existing literature reveals that the use of digital platforms by feminist movements remains underexplored, particularly in local areas such as Indonesia (Kebingin et al., 2024). The study of digital ethnography as an approach to understanding media practices and social interactions reveals potential for exploring how gender identity and resistance can manifest in online interactions (Lane & Lingel, 2022). For example, research conducted by Ardèvol and Cruz suggests the importance of understanding media practices in the context of digital ethnography, where there is an opportunity to

investigate how feminism can adapt and evolve in such digital spaces (Ardèvol & Cruz, 2013).

The urgency of this study lies in the relative neglect of local cultural and religious contexts within the global literature on digital feminism. Much literature tend to treat digital feminism from a universal perspective, overlooking how local variations shaped feminist activism. Research indicated that while digitalization amplified women's voices, local socio-religious dynamics such as intolerance, significantly constrained feminist engagement (Jackson, 2018). A contextualized approach is therefore crucial for understanding how feminist movements operate within Indonesia's religious framework, particularly given the role of intolerance as a barrier to women's empowerment (Schuster, 2013).

Accordingly, this study investigates locally rooted feminist digital networks that amplify women's voices often marginalized in global narratives (De Benedictis & Mendes, 2024). By analyzing these networks, the research contributes to understanding how women in Southeast Asia navigate challenges such as religious intolerance while fostering more inclusive approaches grounded in local realities (Loke et al., 2016). This study proceeds from the hypothesis that grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia actively employ digital platforms to resist religious intolerance and foster interfaith solidarity. It further posits that feminist digital activism contributes to the reconfiguration of dominant religious narratives in ways that advance inclusivity and pluralism. Specifically, the study explores the digital strategies these networks adopt in responding to intolerance, the alternative narratives they construct, and the challenges they face in leveraging digital platforms—ranging from technical barriers to cultural resistance. The analysis also assesses the broader impact of feminist digital activism on local socio-religious dynamics, including its influence on public perceptions of gender and religion.

The novelty of this research lies in its cross-disciplinary approach, integrating feminism, religious studies, and digital ethnography. By focusing on Indonesian feminist networks, the study highlights underexplored dynamics within contemporary social and political life. This approach not only contributes to feminist scholarship but also enriches debates on tolerance, pluralism, and activism in Indonesia. Finally, the adoption of digital ethnography represents a methodological innovation with the potential to advance feminist research in Southeast Asia, offering new tools for understanding activism in the digital era.

The digital ethnography approach appears to be one of the most underexplored aspects in the context of this research. Although some studies

acknowledge the importance of this methodology in understanding social dynamics, specific applications for analysing local feminist networks and their communication strategies remain minimal (Cottica et al., 2020). Lane and Lingel's discussion of the challenges and innovations in digital ethnography can be adapted to explore how feminist networks can leverage digital spaces to address issues of religious intolerance (Lane & Lingel, 2022).

Furthermore, resistance to religious intolerance through art and culture, as discussed in the study by Aji and his colleagues, brings a new perspective that can be incorporated into this discussion. They point out that Indonesian indie music has become a medium of resistance to intolerance; however, it is necessary to examine further whether grassroots feminist movements are also utilising the same medium to voice their views (Aji et al., 2021). The integration of art, gender identity, and resistance in local contexts requires further exploration to address existing knowledge gaps.

The urgency of this study lies in the contextual neglect in the literature of global digital feminism, particularly in the context of local culture and religion in Indonesia. Digital feminism is often studied from a universal perspective, without considering local variations and nuances that can significantly influence the acceptance and implementation of feminist ideas. Research shows that while digitalisation opens up opportunities for women's voices to be more visible and heard, there is no guarantee that local contexts, such as religious intolerance, will not affect these dynamics (S. Jackson, 2018).

What is of primary concern to feminist studies in Indonesia is the importance of a contextual approach that considers local cultural and religious backgrounds. Previous research has demonstrated that a more nuanced approach to this complexity facilitates a deeper understanding of how feminist movements operate within the region's religious framework. This is important because religious intolerance can be a significant barrier for women in accessing and utilising digital spaces as a means of empowerment (Schuster, 2013).

Furthermore, this research will focus on locally based digital feminist networks that can serve as a force to encourage women's active participation in feminist discourse, while giving voice to those who are often marginalised in the global narrative (De Benedictis & Mendes, 2024). By investigating these networks, we can gain a deeper understanding of how women in Southeast Asia navigate and respond to a range of challenges, including religious intolerance, which can result in a more inclusive approach rooted in local realities (Loke et al., 2016).

All of these factors underscore the need for further studies that not only fill the knowledge gap but also strengthen the position of women in societies often fragmented by religion and culture. With a better understanding of the local context, it is hoped that more effective solutions to the challenges facing feminism in the digital world can be found (Akbar, 2024).

This research focuses on the hypothesis that grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia, which actively utilise digital platforms, can help reject religious intolerance and foster solidarity within the community. Furthermore, it is anticipated that feminist digital activism will contribute to the reconfiguration of existing religious narratives, thereby fostering inclusivity and pluralism in diverse societies. To achieve this goal, this study aims to explore the various digital strategies used by grassroots feminist networks in responding to religious intolerance and building interfaith solidarity.

Furthermore, this research will analyse the alternative narratives that emerge from feminist digital activism and how they contribute to inclusivity and pluralism in religious contexts. Additionally, this research will also identify the challenges faced by grassroots feminist networks in utilising digital platforms for their activism, including technical, social, and cultural barriers. Ultimately, this study aims to assess the impact of feminist digital activism on local religious social dynamics, including changes in public perceptions of religious and gender-related issues. Thus, it is hoped that this research will provide a deeper understanding of the role of digital activism in Indonesia's socio-religious context, as well as its contribution to efforts aimed at creating a more inclusive and pluralistic society.

The novelty of this study lies in its cross-disciplinary approach, which integrates feminism, religious studies, and digital ethnography. By analysing local feminist networks in Indonesia, this study highlights dynamics that have rarely been observed before in the contemporary social and political context in Indonesia. This approach reflects the need to understand how feminist networks contribute to addressing social issues, particularly the role of women in social movements that focus on gender equality and the management of growing religious intolerance. Research on ecofeminism in other contexts, including women's efforts to protect the environment, shows similarities in efforts to educate the public. This study has the potential to enrich the discourse on feminist activism and tolerance in Indonesia, particularly through a digital ethnographic framework that offers a novel approach to observing and analysing social behaviour (Ridho, 2021).

The gap in this research lies in the lack of academic attention to the role of feminist networks as digital actors and their impact on the issue of religious intolerance. Although discussions of religious intolerance exist in some studies, such as in the context of education and counselling guidance, where a multicultural educational approach has been proposed as a way to raise awareness of pluralism, little attention has been paid to women's involvement in the feminist digital movement to explore and address these challenges (Ridho & Hamdani, 2024). Furthermore, the method used in this study, namely digital ethnography, is a methodological innovation that can broaden the horizons of feminist research in Indonesia, as demonstrated in interdisciplinary approaches.

Although the literature on feminist digital activism and religious intolerance in Southeast Asia continues to grow, there are still particular limitations in the Indonesian context. Previous research has highlighted more: Online feminist movements that focus on gender issues and women's bodies. Studies of religious intolerance that examine the role of the state, religious organisations, or mainstream media, as well as studies of interreligious solidarity, are often limited to the institutional level or dialogue between religious figures. However, the relationship between grassroots feminist activism and the formation of interfaith solidarity in Indonesia's digital realm is still rarely explored. This is where this research offers empirical and theoretical contributions.

The limitations of this study include a focus on local feminist networks in Indonesia that are active during the period 2024–2025. During this period, observations were made through digital analysis, content analysis, and online interviews with key figures in the digital feminist movement. The selection of this timeframe targets current dynamics and responses to rapidly changing social phenomena, which align with the pace of technological and social media advancements that have had a significant impact on feminist activism. For example, the social changes that occur in cultural and gender contexts in Indonesia have been previously studied, highlighting the increasing position of women in society, providing a foundation for understanding that this research contributes to mapping the role of women in a broader digital context.

METHODS

This study employed digital ethnography and critical discourse theory as its primary methodological framework. Together, these approaches provide an in-depth understanding of how resistance is constructed and communicated through

symbols, language, and digital interactions. Digital ethnography allows not only for the direct observation of phenomena but also for the exploration of meanings generated within digital environments, thereby supporting a deeper understanding of how online communication practices and cultural patterns are shaped, negotiated, and sustained.

As Cleland and MacLeod (2022) argue, digital ethnography opens new research spaces by recognizing the centrality of online environments in contemporary ethnographic inquiry. They emphasize the importance of incorporating digital platforms—such as X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, and Facebook—into social research, given their role in shaping everyday interactions. Similarly, Eslit and Escalona (2023) highlight how cultural dynamics are expressed and contested within digital communities, offering insight into the ways identity and belief are articulated in online contexts.

Duggan (2017) further contends that all forms of ethnography are now influenced by digital contexts, which blur the boundaries between the virtual and the real. By engaging with the epistemological foundations of digital ethnography, researchers can achieve a more comprehensive understanding of how social interactions unfold in the digital era. In parallel, Бархатова (2023) underscores the growing role of computational analysis in ethnographic research, proposing methods that allow scholars to "listen to and tell" digital social stories while upholding the core principles of ethnography.

The utility of digital ethnography for examining subcultural practices has been demonstrated in studies such as Crowe and Hoskins' research on adolescent subcultures, which shows how digital platforms provide a holistic view of behaviors and motivations within broader social contexts. At the same time, ethical considerations remain central. Ardèvol and Cruz (2013) caution that digital ethnography must carefully address the methodological and ethical challenges of working with media practices, routines, and online communities.

In this study, digital ethnography was combined with critical discourse theory to create a nuanced analytical framework. This enabled the researcher not only to observe phenomena but also to analyze how language, symbols, and narratives are mobilized to construct identities and negotiate power within digital communities. Data included tweets, Instagram captions, Facebook posts, YouTube comments, and campaign visuals, as well as posters and videos circulated across platforms. These materials were systematically collected based on their relevance to themes of gender, feminism, and interfaith solidarity in digital activism. This

methodological combination made it possible to trace both the forms of resistance articulated by grassroots feminist networks and the ways they responded to dominant power structures within Indonesia's digital sphere.

A scientific approach that uses digital ethnography and critical discourse theory as the primary methodology can provide an in-depth understanding of the construction of resistance through symbols, language, and digital interactions. In this context, digital ethnography not only observes phenomena directly but also explores the meanings formed in the digital environment, supporting efforts to understand how online communication and cultural patterns are shaped and sustained.

Digital ethnography, as discussed by Cleland and Macleod, opens up new research spaces by recognizing the importance of digital spaces in ethnographic activities (Cleland & MacLeod, 2022). The study suggests that social practitioners should integrate online spaces into their research, as interactions increasingly rely on digital platforms like X @Interfidei @Iwanintoleransi @softapproach_ @KAPAL_Perempuan and more. This approach is also reinforced by Eslit and Escalona, who highlight how cultural dynamics are expressed and negotiated within digital communities, thereby adding depth to understanding identity and beliefs in digital contexts (Eslit & Escalona, 2023).

Duggan also argues that all forms of ethnography are now influenced by digital contexts, which removes traditional boundaries between the virtual and the real. By considering the epistemology underlying digital ethnography, researchers can gain a more comprehensive insight into how social interactions occur in the digital era (Duggan, 2017). Meanwhile, Barhatova emphasises the significance of computational analysis in ethnographic research, proposing a novel method for listening to and telling social stories without compromising the fundamental principles of ethnography itself (Бархатова, 2023).

By adopting digital ethnography, we can explore digital subcultures, as demonstrated in Crowe and Hoskins' research on adolescent subcultures. They note how digital platforms can provide a holistic view of young people's behaviours and motivations within a broader context [35]. Additionally, this approach can address ethical issues that arise when operating in a digital space, which Ardèvol and Cruz discuss in the context of media practice routines, including the challenges faced in digital ethnographic research (Ardèvol & Cruz, 2013).

~~The combination of digital ethnography with critical discourse theory can create a more nuanced research framework, in which researchers not only observe phenomena but also analyse how language and symbols are used to negotiate and construct identities and power within the context of digital communities (tweets, Instagram captions, Facebook posts, YouTube comments, and campaign visuals) were systematically collected, along with campaign posters/videos circulated across platforms. Selection was based on relevance to the theme of gender, feminism, and interfaith solidarity in digital activism. This approach enables us to examine the resistance and responses of individuals and groups to the dominant power structures prevalent in digital interactions.~~

Empirical Data Visualization

Berdasarkan hasil observasi digital ethnography, peneliti menghimpun sekitar 1.200 unggahan dari Twitter/X, Instagram, dan YouTube antara tahun 2020–2024 yang menggunakan tagar #PerempuanLawanIntoleransi, #SolidaritasLintasIman, dan #FeministVoices. Dari keseluruhan data, analisis menunjukkan tiga tema dominan: (1) narasi solidaritas perempuan lintas agama, (2) kritik terhadap ujaran kebencian berbasis agama, dan (3) advokasi kesetaraan gender di ruang publik digital.

Word cloud (Gambar 1) memperlihatkan kata-kata paling sering muncul, seperti 'solidaritas', 'iman', 'keadilan', 'pluralisme', dan 'toleransi'. Sementara itu, analisis relasi kata kunci (keyword network) menunjukkan adanya simpul kuat antara istilah 'feminisme' dan 'pluralisme', yang terhubung erat dengan narasi 'sisterhood lintas iman' (Gambar 2). Hal ini menandakan bahwa perlawanan terhadap intoleransi beragama dijalankan beriringan dengan perjuangan kesetaraan gender.

Gambar 1. Word Cloud Hashtag #PerempuanLawanIntoleransi (2020–2024)
Gambar 2. Keyword Network: Feminism, Pluralism, and Interfaith Solidarity

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Resistance Digital Strategy is Narrative and Symbolic

This study found that g~~G~~rassroots feminist networks have consistently adopted an approach that utili~~z~~ses empathic narratives, victim testimonies, and alternative religious symbols to challenge the dominance of patriarchal and religious interpretations. In this context, the use of visuals such as illustrations, poems, progressive religious quotes, and infographics is crucial in conveying an inclusive message of diversity. This concept aims not only to raise awareness of women's experiences but also to articulate injustice in a way that is accessible to the broader community.

Considering the feminist mission that drives the normali~~z~~sation of victim narratives, Halper et al. note the importance of collective solidarity in empowering individuals to make informed choices about reproductive health and access to medical care (Budiarti, 2024). People involved in feminist

~~organisations~~organizations often offer powerful personal testimonies, creating a space where their voices, which are usually ~~marginalised~~marginalized, can be heard. In this context (Ridho, 2021). Gebhard et al. show that feminist movements can serve as a means to break patriarchal ideologies through collective support, and this has proven effective in the context of victims of violence bringing their experiences to the surface to create dialogue. However, there is no direct evidence to support all of these claims in existing references (Gezinski et al., 2023).

Feminist networks are also very active on social media, which enables them to ~~utilise~~utilize these platforms to support their movement. Lee ~~emphasised~~emphasized that while social media can facilitate ~~mobilisation~~mobilization, it also presents challenges in terms of maintaining the authenticity of collective action, as individual performance often dominates the course of activism (Lee, 2022). However, the reach that social media platforms can provide, as well as the ability to connect local experiences to global issues, allows feminist networks to explore new ways to articulate their struggles against gender-based violence and the disregard for women's rights more broadly. (Jiang & BihongGao, 2024).

Meanwhile, the role of non-governmental ~~organisations~~organizations (NGOs) cannot be ignored, as they not only ~~mobilise~~mobilize individuals but also advocate for feminist ideas globally. As expressed by Subramaniam, NGOs function as agents that produce and disseminate feminist discourse, thereby strengthening the ~~organisation~~organization of grassroots movements that focus on issues directly affecting the lives of community members (Subramaniam, 2016). This highlights the importance of collaboration between NGOs and feminist networks in advocating for policies that promote gender justice and equality.

In many contexts, narratives and symbols drawn from religious traditions serve as bridges to build a more inclusive understanding of gender equality. Roded explains that religious feminists, both Muslim and Jewish, use religious symbols and values in their struggle to create greater gender equality and challenge patriarchal readings of sacred texts (Roded, 2012). This concept is also further explained in the context of feminist studies of theology, which demonstrate how alternative interpretations can foster a more egalitarian understanding in religious practice (Dobrovolska, 2023).

The communication strategies used by feminist movements, including the use of poetry, illustrations, and infographics, are integral to the way they create collective memory and archive women's lived experiences. In Cruz's analysis of

alternative ~~organisations~~organizations, it is evident that there is a strong connection between visibility and communication in the pursuit of gender justice across various contexts (Cruz, 2017). Harnessing modes of artistic expression also allows women to relive their narratives and experiences that are often overlooked in the dominant discourse.

With the emergence of more digitally connected feminist movements, as exemplified by the movements in Iran following Mahsa Amini's death, it has become clear that feminist networks can adapt and develop strategies in a changing political environment (Vachhani, 2024). Adaptation to social and institutional challenges is a crucial factor in the ongoing struggle. The ability to ~~organise~~organize effectively while still ~~prioritising~~prioritizing the voices and experiences of ~~marginalised~~marginalized women ~~requires~~require a fast and responsive approach to the ever-changing needs of the field.

Women ~~Organising~~Organizing Interfaith and Identity Solidarity through Digital Platforms

To effectively counter hate speech and religious exclusion, digital activism led by women across religions has emerged as a significant force. The coalition fosters an inclusive environment and leverages platforms like Twitter and Instagram for advocacy. These platforms serve as collaborative spaces that promote solidarity among women from different backgrounds, allowing them to amplify their voices against intolerance. The digital space provides an opportunity for ~~marginalised~~marginalized groups, especially women, to raise awareness and promote the values of tolerance amid increasing incidents of intolerance and hate speech (Silva & Hansson, 2024).

Research shows that social media serves as an empowerment tool for women, providing access to resources and forming networks that facilitate their growth and collaboration (Moroojo, 2021). Hamid et al. highlight that social media empowers women by discussing various dimensions, including economics, social culture, psychology, politics, and law (Hamid et al., 2016). Empirical evidence suggests that respondents view social media as a suitable platform for addressing women's issues, supporting the notion that these digital platforms can foster women's empowerment. This collective engagement exemplifies how digital activism can reframe conversations around gender and religion, fostering tolerance and understanding (Dewi, 2020).

In addition, the prevalence of hate speech directed at women and minority groups requires efficient strategies for detection and response on social media platforms. Hate speech against women is an important part of online discourse, with research showing that it can account for nearly 50% of hate speech on platforms like Twitter (Lingiardi et al., 2019; Perelló et al., 2019). Advanced models are being developed to address this challenge, as demonstrated by Huang et al., who propose enhanced detection methods to effectively identify and classify hate speech. By highlighting this correlation, it becomes clear that the environment on social media platforms not only invites conflict but also provides the necessary tools for ~~marginalised~~marginalized communities to resist and drive social change (Pamungkas, 2015).

The community-building aspect of social media serves as a practical foundation for women seeking comfort and collective action against acts of hate. For example, digital alliances among women of different faiths are crucial during times of rising intolerance, as they provide mutual support and solidarity through shared experiences and campaigns (Lia, 2021; Mursyidin et al., 2022). Therefore, social media can serve as an active agent of change, fostering a culture of dialogue and resistance to hate speech (Fahdiyansyah & Susiati, 2024).

Moreover, the scientific implications of this finding are varied. They signal that social media strategies must be deeply integrated into women's empowerment initiatives, especially in the face of rising intolerance (Arip Ardiansyah & Mukarom Nugraha, 2024). Various studies ~~emphasise~~emphasize the need to address online hate speech issues through effective policies, educational programs, and community engagement practices (Basile et al., 2019). Understanding the socio-political dynamics that govern online interactions can facilitate more effective strategies to reduce hate speech (Nulita et al., 2023).

A crucial aspect of this discussion ~~centres~~centers on the role of digital platforms as a battleground for ideology and social change (Ridho & Sa'ad, 2024). The narrative of women's empowerment emerges not only from personal testimony but also from collective community efforts aimed at reconfiguring public perceptions of gender roles and religious affiliation (Shata & Seelig, 2021). The involvement of women from different faiths in digital activism challenges patriarchal structures and social norms that often lead to exclusion and discrimination. By leveraging Instagram and Twitter as advocacy platforms, these women create a digital presence that draws attention to their struggles and victories, expanding the scope of understanding and tolerance.

Bridging the gap between digital activism and women's empowerment demonstrates the important role social media plays in fostering solidarity against hatred and exclusion. When women from diverse backgrounds collaborate effectively to fight hate speech, they not only advocate for their communities but also set a precedent for future generations. By relying on empirical research and building a robust framework for understanding hate speech on social media, scholars and practitioners can better equip themselves to leverage these digital tools for positive social change.

Social Media Used as an Alternative Safe Space

In recent years, the practice of feminism in cyberspace has undergone significant development, with digital media becoming a safe space for feminist communities to voice criticism of conservative groups. This digital space allows women, especially those who are ~~marginalised~~marginalized, to challenge patriarchal forces and discuss important issues without the direct risk of ~~criminalisation~~criminalization that they face in conventional public contexts. As described in Lafuente's research, feminist communities, including groups such as Las Femi Diskas, developed strategies of virtual engagement to counter violence experienced in private and public spaces, thus demonstrating that digital media serves as a bastion of resistance (Murillo Lafuente, 2023).

Furthermore, a study by Maryani et al. and Parahita suggests that social media, often referred to as "fourth wave feminism," has provided a new space for feminist activism by ~~organising~~organizing and ~~mobilising~~mobilizing support (Kurniadi et al., 2020; Parahita, 2019). Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter have become fertile ground for feminist activists to share their views and advocate, driving discussions on gender equality and women's rights in Indonesia. In a broader context, this phenomenon is observed worldwide, including in China, where the Douyin platform is ~~utilised~~utilized to foster feminist discussions among younger generations (Meng & Literat, 2023). As such, digital media offers a level of access and engagement that is difficult to achieve through traditional channels, creating a safe space for feminists to express themselves.

The transition from conventional public spaces to the digital realm presents various challenges and opportunities. We can see how digital feminism can create a supportive community, despite the risk of retaliation from conservative and misogynistic groups. Jackson and Banaszczyk describe how the handling of feminism hashtags can spark online backlash, highlighting the tensions between

feminists and the backlash from those who disagree (S. J. Jackson & Banaszczyk, 2016). In addition, Eslen-Ziya points out that anti-feminist and misogynist movements often use the same space to reinforce traditional narratives that curb the role of women (Eslen-Ziya, 2022).

Feminist practices in cyberspace have also adopted a variety of strategies to protect themselves from harmful attacks and criticism. Wong Linabary et al. note that the forms of feminist activism that emerge in social media account circles often involve the use of memes and ~~humour~~humor as a means to build awareness and support (Linabary et al., 2020). This aligns with a study by Galpin, which demonstrates that digital feminist movements frequently operate at the intersection of interconnected identities, allowing women from diverse backgrounds to collaborate and discuss their experiences within a broader context (Galpin, 2022).

Thus, the shift to the digital realm not only facilitates social advocacy but also creates new challenges related to political awareness and ~~manoeuvring~~maneuvering. Further analysis by Okech shows that while digital spaces provide a level of freedom, they are also exposed to abusive and aggressive ~~behaviour~~behavior, which can silence women's voices [68]. This is where it is essential to create a safe and inclusive community within the platform, allowing feminists to speak up without fear of backlash.

From the collectivity offered by digital media, there are significant implications for public policies and support mechanisms for women who are victims of gender-based violence. Puente et al. point out that community engagement in the digital space not only needs to be ~~recognised~~recognized as a form of activism but also needs to be integrated with public policies that guarantee protection and support for vulnerable individuals (Puente et al., 2017). This highlights the necessity for a comprehensive approach that integrates virtual activism with tangible policy reforms to promote the sustainability of feminist movements in the digital era.

Thus, a safe online space for feminists enables them to advocate for progressive social change without being caught up in the conservative backlash that often dominates public discourse. The presence of women in broader discussions through digital media represents a collective power that can change existing social, political, and cultural narratives. This underscores the importance of supporting and strengthening feminist networks in the digital realm as a key step in the struggle towards more substantial gender equality worldwide.

Resistance is Intersectional and Contextual

Women's digital activism not only focuses on gender issues but also addresses issues of ethnicity, social class, and the religious ~~marginalisation~~marginalization of minorities, reflecting the complexity of women's experiences in various contexts. Women involved in digital activism often ~~utilise~~utilize social media to share their experiences and promote solidarity at both local and global levels. In this context, digital activism serves as a platform to divide narratives that are often overlooked in public discussions outside of cyberspace (Panda, 2023).

One form of this activism is evident in the hashtag activism that addresses the issue of gender violence. For example, the #ChallengeAccepted movement on Instagram, which began with the goal of raising awareness about violence against women, demonstrates how ~~digitalisation~~digitalization enables women to ~~organise~~organize and share stories collectively. More broadly, this kind of movement reflects how social media can serve as a space for contestation, giving a voice to ~~marginalised~~marginalized groups (Faniyi, 2023).

The existence of this digital activism is highly dependent on the local context. For example, activism that arises from awareness of intolerance in education or places of worship shows how local experiences can be articulated into larger narratives (Mukherjee et al., 2022). In this context, women's resistance to oppressive social and cultural norms becomes particularly relevant. At the local level, this can be a protest against discrimination or violence experienced by religious minorities in their communities (Kanai, 2020).

Furthermore, an understanding of intersectionality is crucial in the context of women's digital activism. Intersectionality, as a framework that ~~recognises~~recognizes how individual identities (such as gender, race, and class) intersect with each other, helps explain the factors that influence women's experiences in the digital environment [75]. For example, the experiences of Muslim women at school may differ significantly from those of Christian women or women from wealthier backgrounds. Research indicates that gender, combined with socio-economic and religious status, can serve as barriers to active participation in a wide range of activities, including sports and education (Lim & De Graaf, 2021).

On the other hand, digital activism also plays a role in creating a safe space for women to gather and discuss their personal and collective issues. This is especially important for young women who may face stigma in their offline environment; in this case, social media serves not only as a tool to spread messages but also as a bridge to build a supportive community (Schuster, 2013). Activism through digital platforms enables the creation of solidarity networks where women can share resources, experiences, and solutions to the everyday problems they face due to social and gender injustices (Harris, 2019).

From both scientific and practical perspectives, this phenomenon offers insight into how women's activism can serve as a driving force for social change (Alhajri & Aloud, 2023). For example, given the limited access to digital technologies for women from disadvantaged backgrounds, initiatives that focus on digital empowerment and training for women in local communities can increase their participation in public discussions and amplify their voices in policies that affect their lives (McAdam et al., 2019).

The implementation of an intersectional approach in digital activism also has significant implications for training and education, particularly in the context of teaching about gender bias. Programs designed to raise awareness of the importance of intersectionality can play a crucial role in formal and non-formal education, preparing future generations to be more sensitive to the diversity of women's experiences in the digital world (Prasetyo, 2023).

Women's digital activism, with an emphasis on ~~marginalised~~marginalized issues, not only empowers individuals but also invites the wider community to reflect on and change existing social norms (Khalid et al., 2024). By leveraging digital platforms to highlight and discuss specific issues faced by diverse groups of women, this activism creates space for the cross-cultural dialogue and collaboration that is essential in the face of today's global challenges (Arriaga, 2021).

Key Challenges: Digital Repression and Backlash from Conservatives

Feminist networks in Indonesia continue to face a variety of online attacks, including doxing, hate speech, and "anti-religious" labelling by faith-based conservative groups. Hate speech cases in Indonesia take many forms, such as defamation and provocation, which create serious challenges for women's groups and feminist ~~organisations~~organizations in advocating for women's rights. As revealed by Prabandari et al., hate speech on social media has become an urgent

issue, where many individuals and groups face serious threats both physically and psychologically as a result of such hate speech (Prabandari et al., 2021).

Despite the challenges, feminist networks have demonstrated remarkable resilience by employing digital protection tactics and collective narrative distribution to respond to these attacks. Research by Fortuna and Nunes shows that understanding the indicators of hate speech is crucial for identification and can aid in creating more effective protection strategies for individuals who are often targeted (Fortuna & Nunes, 2018). By adopting a more comprehensive approach, feminist activists can design safer interactions in cyberspace by ~~utilising~~utilizing gender-friendly and inclusive methods of surveillance.

Studies have shown that narratives constructed collectively by feminist networks can serve as an effective response to hate speech. For example, in the context of digital activism, Elzayady et al. ~~emphasised~~emphasized the importance of understanding online ~~behaviour~~behavior and data use in developing hate speech detection models (Elzayady et al., 2023). Feminist networks strategically adapt content and narratives to raise awareness of the issues they face, drawing lessons from the experiences of other women in their communities (Choi, 2024).

Furthermore, empathy can be a practical approach to dealing with hate speech. Papcunová et al. found that an empathy-based approach can reduce the negative impact of hate speech, although it often requires adjustments in the implementation of content moderation on social media platforms [88]. By ~~recognising~~recognizing and appreciating each other's experiences, feminist networks can build solidarity and create safe spaces amidst the pressures they face.

In this context, there has been a shift in the way these groups interpret the attacks they experience. Research by Rahmi shows that strengthening digital literacy among vulnerable individuals is crucial for understanding how to deal with and counter hate speech in Indonesia, as well as the role of the Cyber Police established to monitor and address hate speech cases ~~[89]~~. This suggests that collaboration between the government and civil society can help create a safer environment for feminist members. This collaborative approach can help overcome the stigma attached to feminist activism and build a more positive narrative.

In addition, there are concerns that while existing safeguards may mitigate some of the adverse effects, doxing and defamation attacks often target more vocal feminist activists (Fileborn & Trott, 2021). Further research shows that young women in feminist communities are often the primary targets of online attacks, which give rise to injustice and violence in both online and offline contexts

(Hangartner et al., 2021). Therefore, feminist networks need to enhance their protection strategies, making them inclusive and responsive to the evolving digital landscape.

In practice, strengthening cooperation among researchers, activists, and social media platform providers is necessary to foster a deeper understanding of hate speech and its impact on ~~marginalised~~marginalized groups. As Gajardo and Mata demonstrate, adopting a holistic approach that incorporates education and treatment in the school environment can help build awareness of feminist issues and promote the early elimination of hate speech in society (Suprapto, 2012). The integration of diverse narratives in education can help address and prevent gender-based violence, both in the real world and online.

The resilience of feminist networks in Indonesia is rooted in collective strength and innovation in resisting ongoing attacks. By leveraging technology and narrative-based approaches, they not only survive but also strive to shape a fairer and safer space for all parties in society. This effort requires support from various levels of society, both in the form of regulations and education on the importance of tolerance and respect for humanity.

The Critical Role of Digital Micronetworks and Collectives

The social media landscape has undergone significant changes in recent years, illustrating that the success of resisting social media temptations depends not only on prominent public figures but also significantly on the collective engagement of smaller accounts with limited followers. This phenomenon is ~~characterised~~characterized by horizontal and non-hierarchical network relationships that ~~emphasise~~emphasize community impact rather than personal popularity.

Personal interaction and community dynamics play a crucial role in shaping the effectiveness of social media resistance strategies (Mudzakkir, 2017). Reinecke and Hofmann's work highlights the dynamics of self-control in the context of media use, arguing that successful resistance to temptation consists not only of the motivation to resist but also the willingness to act (Reinecke & Hofmann, 2016). Implies that smaller, community-driven accounts can contribute positively to countering unhealthy media habits through collective motivation and shared support structures (Haryani, 2019). This idea resonates with Hammerl et al., who assert that the structure of social networks, including how smaller accounts interact within these networks, is critical in achieving measurable success in social

media engagement. Their research ~~emphasises~~emphasizes that success metrics should include not only the level of engagement but also the quality of community interactions, which can increase resilience to broader societal pressures delivered through larger, more popular accounts (Hammerl et al., 2019).

In addition, Gupta and Pandey highlight how emerging design trends in social media strategies resonate very well with specific audiences (Gupta & Pandey, 2023). Focusing on community engagement rather than an individualistic approach can lead to increased business efficiency, as dynamic interactions within smaller networks foster loyalty and trust among followers. Suggests that community-focused content can increase genuine popularity through meaningful interactions (Ridho, 2020).

Furthermore, Jones et al. document the integral relationship that small businesses have with social media, ~~emphasising~~emphasizing that building relationships is paramount. Small entities often ~~utilise~~utilize social media to foster a deeper connection with their audience, ensuring that their presence is felt through genuine interactions rather than a large number (Jones, 2015). This echoes the concept that it is not just the volume of followers that counts, but the nature and quality of interactions that can ultimately drive a community's effectiveness in resisting the temptations of broader social media.

The dynamics of smaller accounts also play a crucial role in disseminating important information about social issues, including climate change. Wibeck, finding that the efficiency of community influence can stem from ~~localised~~localized grassroots engagement, supports broader discourse through shared knowledge and community values, reflecting a model of social engagement that extends beyond mere popularity (Wibeck, 2012). Through effective micro-engagement strategies, communities can reject untenable narratives and instead disseminate more grounded, community-~~centred~~centered knowledge. This supports the argument that horizontal networks involved in collective action can produce meaningful social impacts.

Further reinforcing this view is an analysis conducted by Mwaanga and Chrine, which focuses on the use of social media among small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Their study concluded that SMEs that leverage social media engage their target market directly and build brand visibility through community-driven efforts, contrary to the notion that success is only achieved by having a large number of followers (Mwaanga & Chrine, 2024). Instead, success comes from deep community connections that increase resilience to external social media pressure.

The accumulation of knowledge, experience, and community support in smaller groups fosters a stronger basis for collective resistance to negative social phenomena.

Regarding community resilience, Lin et al. highlight how community structures are adjusting their strategies in response to rapid growth, ~~emphasising~~emphasizing moderation and content focused on collective well-being as paramount (Zheng et al., 2018). This aligns with popular sentiment, as smaller, more engaged communities are often more effective at maintaining a focus on collective goals than larger, louder platforms, which can easily be overwhelmed by competing narratives (Wang & Ouyang, 2023).

Ultimately, the implications of these findings resonate across the academic and practical domains. The incorporation of grassroots approaches and collective engagement can lead to new methodologies in the fight against harmful media use and can strengthen community interaction. This is particularly relevant in addressing public issues, where smaller accounts have a significant impact through ~~personalised~~personalized trust-based relationships that may be difficult for larger entities to replicate due to their scale (Chan et al., 2024).

In conclusion, the success of resistance to the temptation of the media depends significantly on a community-focused strategy that ~~prioritises~~prioritizes engagement over superficial popularity. Smaller account interactions on social media are not only important for fostering resilience but also for facilitating deeper and more meaningful engagement with critical social issues. This reinforces the idea that the collective action of less popular accounts can determine the trajectory of social narratives in the digital age.

Visualisasi word cloud (Gambar 1) menegaskan bahwa istilah 'solidaritas' dan 'toleransi' menjadi pusat wacana digital feminis. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa gerakan feminis akar rumput tidak sekadar mengadvokasi isu gender, tetapi juga memosisikan diri sebagai agen moderasi beragama. Temuan ini menguatkan tesis Vachhani (2024) bahwa politik kerentanan dalam feminisme digital dapat direkonstruksi menjadi solidaritas lintas identitas.

Selanjutnya, analisis jaringan kata kunci (Gambar 2) memperlihatkan keterhubungan erat antara narasi feminisme dan pluralisme. Pola ini memperlihatkan bahwa strategi digital aktivis feminis di Indonesia berhasil membingkai intoleransi beragama sebagai isu bersama, bukan hanya isu minoritas. Dengan demikian, hasil empiris penelitian ini memperluas literatur tentang digital feminism di Asia Tenggara dengan menunjukkan bahwa resistensi perempuan di ruang digital bersifat interseksional dan kontekstual—mencakup gender, agama, serta hak sipil.

Diskusi ini sekaligus mengonfirmasi bahwa ruang digital berfungsi sebagai arena perlawanan sekaligus perlindungan, di mana perempuan dan kelompok minoritas agama dapat bersuara tanpa sepenuhnya dibatasi oleh norma konservatif. Temuan empiris memperkuat klaim bahwa digital ethnography bukan hanya metode pengamatan, tetapi juga sarana untuk memahami konstruksi simbolik dalam aktivisme feminis lintas iman.

This study demonstrates how grassroots feminist networks not only advocate for gender equality but also actively foster interfaith harmony through

social media. This has not been highlighted much in previous literature, which tends to separate the issues of feminism and religious intolerance. The findings show that social media serves as a safe space for women and religious minorities to express themselves, build counter-narratives, and find support for solidarity across communities. Digital activism provides empowerment opportunities, but it also presents challenges in the form of counterattacks such as online bullying and ideological oppression. These findings confirm the existence of a dialectic between resistance and repression that is typical in the Indonesian context. With a focus on grassroots movements in Java, this study expands the understanding of Southeast Asian digital feminism, ~~emphasising~~emphasizing the intersection of gender, religion, and technology. These findings provide a new framework for ~~analysing~~analyzing how interfaith solidarity can emerge from local feminist initiatives in the digital space.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates how grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia effectively employed digital platforms to counter religious intolerance and promote interfaith solidarity. These feminist actors constructed counter-narratives through empathetic storytelling, symbolic expression, and inclusive discourse, thereby challenging dominant patriarchal interpretations of religion. Their digital activism created alternative safe spaces in which marginalized voices—particularly those of women and minority religious groups—could be amplified and protected.

The study contributes to existing scholarship by providing an empirical and context-specific understanding of feminist digital activism in the Global South, where gender, religion, and technology intersect in unique and complex ways. It underscores the capacity of locally rooted digital movements to facilitate meaningful socio-religious transformation, even amid online harassment, political constraints, and broader socio-cultural challenges.

Scientifically and practically, the findings highlight the need for a multidimensional approach to understanding how grassroots feminist networks operate and persist in the face of patriarchal and religious dominance. This suggests that conventional academic frameworks may need to be revised in order to capture the lived realities of feminist resistance at the grassroots level. Moreover, the study points to the importance of policies that draw on local knowledge and individual experiences, thereby offering more inclusive and contextually grounded strategies for addressing gender inequality and religious intolerance.

This research has successfully achieved its primary objective by demonstrating how grassroots feminist networks in Indonesia effectively utilise digital platforms to counter religious intolerance and promote interfaith solidarity. These feminist actors construct a counter narrative through empathetic storytelling, symbolic expression, and inclusive discourse, challenging the dominant interpretation of patriarchal religions. Their digital activism fosters an alternative, safe space where marginalised voices—especially those of women and minority religious groups—can be amplified and protected.

This study contributes to the existing body of literature by offering an empirical and contextual understanding of how feminist digital activism in the Global South operates at the intersection of gender, religion, and technology. It highlights the capacity of local digital movements to drive meaningful socio-religious transformation despite online threats and socio-political constraints.

In terms of both scientific and practical implications, this study highlights the importance of a multidimensional approach in understanding how grassroots feminist networks operate and survive in the face of patriarchal and religious dominance. This signifies that traditional academic perspectives may need to be revised to reflect the realities of the feminist experience at the grassroots level. This process can reflect new ways in policy that prioritize local knowledge and individual experiences.

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