Assessing Trends in Religious Moderation Campaigns to Counter Extremism Using Social Network Analysis (SNA)

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ABSTRACT

The religious moderation campaign, which is part of the 2019-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), is assed to have been unsuccessful in dominating the trend of public discussion on social media. This case is due to more than 62% of extreme religious narratives dominating public issues. The research aim is to investigate conversation trends and patterns in the religious moderation campaigns established on Twitter. This study employed Social Network Analysis (SNA) via Drone Emprit software as a research method. The data were collected through crawling techniques on Twitter for one year, from April 2022 to March 2023, with a total of 16,407 data. The results showed that the trend of religious moderation campaigns fluctuated wildly within one year. The social network patterns indicated that the campaigns for religious moderation were popularized by opinion leaders as influencers from netizens through tweets on Twitter which were then mentioned, revised, and retweeted. Opinion leaders associated it with issues of nationalism and politics as the driving force for religious moderation campaigns by optimizing hashtags. The novelty of the research is that influencer engagement with issues of nationalism and politics is one of the trends to encourage and increase the dominance of religious moderation campaigns on Twitter. The research results contribute as recommendations for governments, religious actors/organizations, and stakeholders to optimize the utilization of social media in counteracting extremism.

Keywords: *Religious moderation, extremism, trends, Social Network Analysis (SNA), Twitter.*

INTRODUCTION

The campaign for religious moderation that has been echoed lately has turned out to be less dominating than campaigns for extremism on social media. Iim Hamimatusya'diah explained that social media had been dominated by religious narratives with extreme Islamic views, which consist of conservative (67.2%), liberal (6.1%), and Islamism (4.5%) views. Meanwhile, moderate religious narratives (religious moderation) have been regarded as less dominant because they only obtain 22.2% of the total dissemination of religious understanding on social media (Halimatusa'diyah, 2020). Conservative narratives often related to women's issues, the state (nationality), community groups, and the practices of heaven and hell. These narratives generally relate to societal issues compatible with people's values and perspectives, increasing their probability of acceptability by netizens.

This circumstance has been exacerbated by the religious moderation campaign, which concentrates exclusively on offline-conventional bureaucratic aspects. Religious moderation campaign activities have tended to be bureaucratic in government institutions and agencies such as universities (Wulandari & Sari, 2023) and school institutions (Ali et al., 2021; Anwar, 2023). Islamic organizations in Indonesia that play a role in campaigning for religious moderation are Nahdlatul Ulama (Schmidt, 2021) and Muhammadiyah (Hapsari et al., 2023).

Conventional campaign approaches are also employed, such as activities: lectures, counseling, conferences, and seminars. Campaigns through this approach articulate one-way communication, decreasing involvement and interactivity from the audience. The offline-conventional bureaucratic approach to religious moderation contrasts significantly with the movement of the conservative Islamic community, which largely depends on social media to propagate its ideology.

The campaign for religious moderation aims to protect society from extremist Islamic views and to counter radicalism. Religious moderation is designed to encourage and influence society's worldview so that it does not agree with specific extremist groups. Religious moderation also aims to enable people to position themselves in a multi-religious, multicultural society (Mukni'ah, 2023) and minimize the emergence of conflicts between religious communities that threaten state sovereignty. This religious moderation campaign has been spearheaded by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). Then it was disseminated through preachers and influencers as government stakeholders. One of the media implemented is social media through video, images, text, and audio.

Social media has become a battleground between moderates (religious moderation) versus numerous extremist viewpoints that are openly disseminated without boundaries. Extreme religious views frequently contradict local Indonesian ideology, potentially triggering societal polarization, intolerance, and social conflict. Rigid or extreme views are classified into extreme left and extreme right Islamic movements (Qodir et al., 2020). The extremist left Islamic movement is a group of Muslims who are rigid in their interpretation of religious teachings and force them to be implemented in all aspects of life, such as; conservative, Islamism, and fundamentalism views. Furthermore, the extreme right Islamic movement is a group of Muslims who loosen Islamic religious teachings such as liberalism. These two extreme views are easily spread through social media by certain groups.

Previous research on the trend of religious moderation campaigns on social media has primarily focused on the actualization aspect. The implementation of religious moderation campaigns through social media is realized as a counter to radical religious narrative discourse (Febriani & Ritonga, 2022; Setia & Haq, 2023) as a counterweight to differences due to multi-culture (Anwar & Haq, 2019) and learning media (Anggaira & Sari, 2023; Fauzani et al., 2023; Nyanasuryanadi et al., 2023; Wulandari & Sari, 2023). In addition, previous studies also discussed the optimization and implications of religious moderation campaigns on social media. Content with moderate views published on social media is a proportional alternative in providing information to people of different cultures, gender, race, or political orientation (Haimson et al., 2021) so that it becomes a factor in the construction of balanced moderate content (Subchi et al., 2022). This is because social media space influences how moderate content is constructed (Wibisono & Darmalaksana, 2022).

Previous studies have shown limitations to studies discussing assessing religious moderation using social network analysis (SNA) on social media. Assessing social networks is essential and helpful in identifying how interactions between individuals and groups use specific patterns in the internet space. SNA can describe the behavior, network, and dynamics of each user of social networks. The application of SNA in this study aims to map and measure engagements or relationships among individuals, groups, and organizations in campaigns for religious moderation to counteract extremism.

Social media is the object of the social network analysis method (SNA) because social media is a channel of distribution that facilitates various forms of interactive communication between users and multiple kinds of information (Carr & Hayes, 2015). Heidi A Campbell explained that digital media mediates various religious rituals, religious authorities, and religious group identities articulated through audio, video, images, and text (Campbell & Bellar, 2022).

In response to deficiency in previous studies, there is not only a lack of domination and conventional bureaucratic-religious moderation campaign approaches but also the spread of social networks that are part of the discourse, which needs to be assessed through this research. Therefore, this study describes two formulations of the problem, namely: a) what are the trends in the discussion of religious moderation campaigns on Twitter? b) How is the articulation of the social network of religious moderation formed on Twitter? The results of this study are expected to contribute to filling the gap in previous research on social network systems of religious moderation in social media in counteracting extremism. Furthermore, this study can contribute to policymakers, religious actors, and certain parties to design, manage and coordinate the involvement of each actor in religious moderation campaigns on social media.

LITERATURE REVIEW
The Concept of Religious Moderation
The concept of religious moderation has a comprehensive scope associated with religious, cultural, and social elements. Actually, religious moderation is a cultural practice of society that has existed for a long time, especially in Indonesia. A multicultural and heterogeneous society is the basis for preparing moderation that develops and becomes a value and way of life. Gutkowski explained that religious moderation has existed since after World War II as a form of Western society's response to democratic and liberal government structures (Sihombing et al., 2020). Moderation learning is actualized as a confrontational approach and a peaceful attitude to solving disputes over political problems (Pahwa, 2017). In Indonesia, Islamic parties are actors who present religious moderation in the dynamics of national politics to local politics (Buehler, 2013). Implicitly, religious moderation is not just a concept in a religious, cultural, and social context but is also related to a country's politics.

Etymologically, moderation comes from the Latin word *moderâtio,* which means not lacking, moderate, or not too excessive. From the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), moderation is an effort to reduce violence and avoid extreme actions. The word moderation comes from impartiality (Khotimah & Sukron, 2023). In Arabic, the word moderation is often associated with the term *wasathiyyah*. *Wasathiyyah* means avoiding extreme cases between individuals and groups (Davids, 2017) to reduce extreme and impartial actions towards one of the parties, either leaning to the left or right, which causes judgment (Kear, 2022). Religious moderation is an alternative perspective and paradigm for society in addressing and practicing the essence of religious teachings in social life by upholding the values of mutual benefit and tolerance by considering the importance of religious education and the socio-culture of society (Kawangung, 2019).

Religious moderation has several basic principles in its application. First, *tawassuth*, which means choosing a middle way, which tends to implement a neutral attitude in response to differences in views that are too right (fundamentalist) or left (liberalist). Second, *tawazun* means balancing in society. Third, *i'tidal* means straight and firm. This principle ensures that

individuals continue carrying out their rights and obligations regularly. Fourth, *tasamuh* means upholding the value of tolerance or accepting and respecting differences (Giovano & Fadlurrahman, 2021; Purwanto, 2019; Sholikhah & Muvid, 2022). In addition, the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta constructs it into two main principles: fairness and balance (Junaedi, 2019). That is, the principle of impartiality is defined as a form of effort to place all forms of attitudes and perspectives according to their place in a good and proper manner. The principle of balance is a perspective and attitude that is not in favor of two opposing sides; the extreme left (liberal) or the extreme right (ultra-conservative). This principle leads to the realization of a society's attitude that is not extreme in carrying out religious practices in a multicultural society.

Religious moderation is one of the programs of the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), which was confirmed through Presidential Regulation Number 18 of 2020 (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Indonesia, 2020) . Reporting from the official website of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, religious moderation is necessary for Indonesian society today to respond to the many conflicts with religious tendencies. Religious moderation is expected to become social capital in creating a safe, tolerant, and peaceful society (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2020). Indicators of religious moderation are divided into four, namely: national commitment, non-violence, tolerance, and respect for local wisdom. Conversely, suppose an individual or group does not have these four indicators. In that case, they can be identified as being exposed to extremism.

In the religious moderation campaign program, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia stated that social media has an important role in the successful spread of Religious Moderation to society (BDK Palembang, n.d.). This argument is based because data states that internet users in Indonesia reached 78.19% of the population or 215.63 million people in the 2022-2023 period (Sadya, 2023b). According to Puspita, social media such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and Twitter are alternative media for spreading religious moderation because social media is able to facilitate space for discussing ideas and thoughts as well as disseminating information quickly and personally (Puspita & Ajahari, 2022). Therefore, social media has become a space to facilitate religious moderation campaigns in the current era.

Twitter and Social Network Analysis (SNA)

One of the popular social media is Twitter. This social media is optimized as a medium to discuss and popularize or current viral issues and public opinion more quickly (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2012). Based on data from We Are Social, active Twitter users in Indonesia reached 24 million users out of 556 million worldwide users in January 2023 (Sadya, 2023a).The data also shows that Indonesia is ranked 5th globally with the most Twitter users. Through Twitter, information is quickly disseminated, easily becomes a public discussion, and gets netizens' attention collectively and massively (Earl & Kimport, 2011). Twitter offers a variety of topics/public opinion through text on a large scale and is even possible as a medium for predicting future trends. The issues or public opinion discussed on Twitter relate to political, governmental, social, cultural, and even religious matters.

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is a Twitter analysis method that is useful for analyzing social networks and characterizing communicative behavior and topics of conversation (Haupt et al., 2021). SNA is a process to identify a social structure by optimizing computer networks. Computer Network is a scientific study that studies telecommunications networks, computer networks, and social networks (Prell, 2003). Implicitly, SNA is helpful for mapping,

visualizing, and understanding how relationships within a group or organization are systematically structured (Adiyoso, 2022). SNA is also useful for identifying an organization's central role (opinion leader) that connects connectivity and interaction between actors and members (Jain & Katarya, 2019). SNA is composed of several properties to help create management knowledge in the organization, including nodes which represent the actor's position on the network, edges which describe the interactions of each actor, average degree which is the average number of network interactions, diameter, which is the maximum number of the entire network and the average path which is the distance between all actors (Saraswathi et al., 2020).

The SNA method aims to observe, assess and characterize actors who are engaged with other actors. According to Borgatti and Brandon Ofem, actors are reflected in the form of individuals, groups, organizations, and governments. Meanwhile, relationships or linkages in a network system can be in the form of opinions, feelings, actions, sentiments, authority, and communication (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010). Each actor may have many relationships with other actors, maybe even have a few connections. Actors with extensive engagements with other actors may wield enormous influence and resources due to their popularity and authority. Conversely, actors with limited network engagement generate fewer significant responses from other actors (Kapucu, 2015). Thus, every influential actor (opinion leader) can influence others through ideas, concepts, perceptions, and information to other actors (nodes) through an interconnected social network system.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed the Social Network Analysis (SNA) method to interpret the discussion trends of religious moderation campaigns and the articulation of social networks formed by various actors on Twitter. Unlike other social research methods, SNA believes that social reality or phenomena are constructed from the connectedness of several social actors that do not stand alone (Halimatusa'diyah, 2020). To collect data, the actors involved in the religious moderation campaign are primary data as the main reference. Data was collected from tweets on Twitter from April 2022 to March 2023. Data from Twitter earlier than 2022 was not employed because the tendency of religious moderation popularized after 2022. The collection of data at specific periods aims to limit data collection. The reason for choosing the Twitter platform is that Twitter provides data availability that is open to the public. In addition, Twitter is a reference medium for identifying a trend the public discusses (Punjabi et al., 2019).

Data collection was carried out using data mining techniques (crawling) using the Drone Emprit software. Emprit Drone Software is an optimized system for analyzing and monitoring social media and other online platforms based on big data technology (Sumartias et al., 2023).

Data analysis techniques were carried out through 3 stages. The first stage uses hashtag analytics to see the popularity of the religious moderation campaign, its relation to other issues, and its spread pattern. The second stage uses topic modeling to identify and classify texts with the topic of religious moderation. The third stage uses SNA to measure the interrelationships (relationships) between actors (individuals or groups) in discussing the issue of religious moderation campaigns. Through SNA, the position and role of actors in social networks can be measured using the degree of centrality or central actors who directly engage with a large number of other actors. A high level of engagement on the central actor

can be identified through the number of retweets, likes, and replies. Data mapping is carried out based on graphic theory patterns to visualize the results of the network structure formed.

Furthermore, the researchers recognized that internet data-based research employing artificial intelligence (AI) systems had limitations in addition to the advantages of obtainable data availability. The drawbacks are the problem of sample bias and the automatic crawling of data from AI which tends to reduce the control of researchers. Therefore, researchers conducted exploratory unstructured and structured data analyses to minimize this. Then, the researcher also carried out two stages of filtering to ensure accurate data. The first stage, filtering, is done using machine learning automatically. The second stage, filtering, is done manually involving the research team. This data filtering process aims to make the data obtained from crawling results accurately discuss the issue of religious moderation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
i. The Trends of Religious Moderation Conversation

The data were taken from April 2022 to March 2023 on Twitter. The data results show that the trend of Religious Moderation is very volatile. The total number of mentions throughout the period was 16,407. The highest trend in the discussion of religious moderation is from October 2022 to November 2022, with a total of more than 800 for one month. The discussion of religious moderation did not experience a significant trend, which was shown from May 2022 to June 2022. In addition, in September 2022, there was no discussion about religious moderation. Below is a graphical visualization of the trend of discussion about religious moderation shown in Figures 1 and 2 which are visualized in detail and divided into two graphic parts.
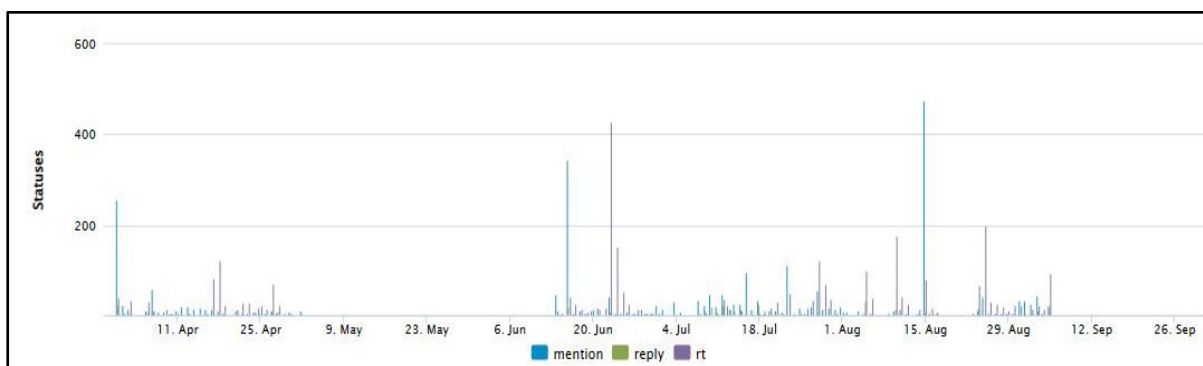

Figure 1: Trend of mentions, replies, and retweets on Twitter from April 2022 to September 2022

The graphic result in Figure 1 shows that there were 6,593 tweets about religious moderation from April 2022 to September 2022. The details of Figure 1 are divided into three parts. First, retweets occupy the highest percentage of all tweets; Religious moderation posts saw 3,118 retweets (47.29%). Second, there were 2,845 mentions (43.15%), and third, replies about moderation were 630 replies or 9.56%. The peak point for mentions (most mentions) is on August 15, 2022, with 474 tweets. Meanwhile, the peak point for the most retweets was on June 23, 2022, with a total of 426 tweets.
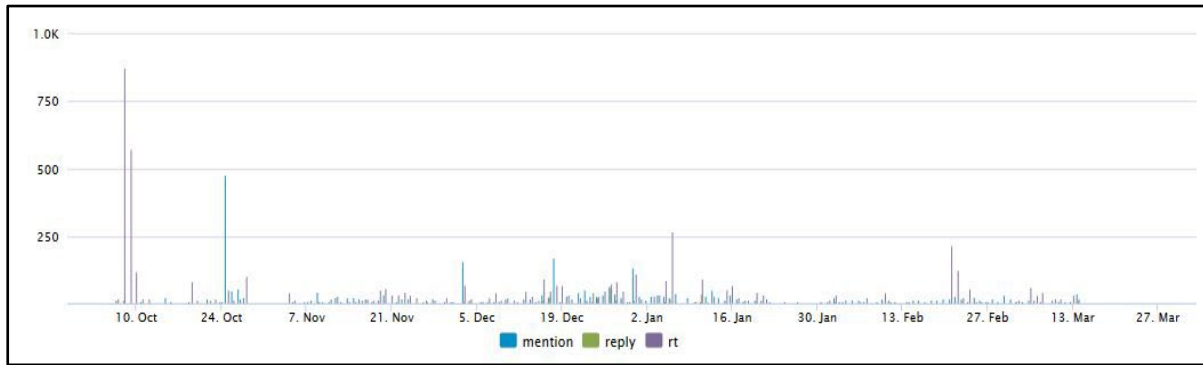
Figure 2: Trend of total mentions, replies, and retweets on Twitter from October 2022 to March 2023

Furthermore, Figure 2 illustrates the total mentions, replies, and retweets about religious moderation from October 2022 to March 2023. The number of discussions on religious moderation in the retweet section is 5,527 retweets (56.32%), mentions are 3,474 (35.40%), and replies are 813 (8.28%). The peak (highest) retweet point is on October 8, 2022, with 870. The height (most elevated) mention point is on October 25, 2022, with 457, and the peak point for replies is December 27, 2022, with 60.

The results of Figure 2 show that for six months (October 2022 – March 2023), there has been an increase in discussions of religious moderation on Twitter through mentions, replies, and retweets from the previous six months (April 2022 to September 2022). The increase was shown in the number of retweets which increased by 2.9%, and replies which increased by 180. These data are inversely proportional to the mentions, which fell by 2.7% or 629 mentions. This data shows that the trend of discussion of religious moderation on Twitter from April 2022 to March 2023 fluctuated greatly. However, the trend of conversation was considered to be very consistent without any absence of vacancy in the discussion of religious moderation for an extended period.

ii. The Use of Hashtags

Then, this study also analyzes hashtags (#) from April 2022 to March 2023 on Twitter. The use of hashtags can reflect the discussion of religious moderation and even reflect certain feelings of netizens from uploaded statements or posts. Hashtags on Twitter function as a medium to popularize an issue. Twitter users can easily find topics by using hashtags in the search field. Hashtags, words, or phrases preceded by the pound sign (#)are the most common way for Twitter users to structure the contents of what users tweet. The most popular hashtags are displayed as trending topics on Twitter (Chang, 2010). This makes it more straightforward to identify tweets on an issue by searching for a particular hashtag instead of searching for the complete text of a single tweet. Hashtags can be extremely helpful in connection with seminars or seminars when individuals or issues are advertised or promoted.

The crawling data is obtained from the sampling process using the keyword #ModerationReligious. Based on the #ModerasiBeragama keyword used, nine following hashtag keywords appear. The entire hashtag that follows #ModerasiBeragama includes; IslamKaffah, #GenerasiMudaPimpinPerubahan, #SelamatkanGenerasidenganIslam, #Islam-SelamatkanGenerasi, #KitaPancasila, #BijakBermedsos, #GanjarPranowo, #GanjarKita, and #IndahnyaPersatuanDalam-Keberagaman. Table 1 displays each hashtag that follows #ModerasiBeragama and the number of posts or tweets.

Table 1: hashtags were engaging #ModerasiBeragama and the amount

Hashtag (#)	Total
#ModerasiBeragama	640
#IslamKaffah	458
#GenerasiMudaPimpinPerubahan	446
#SelamatkanGenerasidenganIslam	436
#IslamSelamatkanGenerasi	381
#KitaPancasila	294
#BijakBermedsos	294
#IndahnyaPersatuanDalamKeberagaman	290
#GanjarPranowo	267
#GanjarKita	242

In Table 1, the researcher took the top nine hashtags and one religious moderation hashtag that were primarily used and dominated the tweets, which totaled 190 hashtags that contained religious moderation posts. The hashtag #ModerasiBeragama occupies the top position with a total usage of 640 posts/tweets. This hashtag was followed by posts with religious nuances totaling 1,721, including #IslamKaffah, #GenerasiMudaPimpinPerubahan, #SelamatkanGenerasidenganIslam, and #IslamSelamatkanGenerasi. Religious nuances are associated with religious moderation, as represented by religious expressions. One of these concepts is Kaffah Islam, which requires all Muslims to worship God directly and demonstrate their worship through social actions. Kaffah Islam is also known nearly as comprehensive Islam.

Then, another hashtag that follows is the issue of nationalism, totaling 584, which includes; #KitaPancasila dan #IndahnyaPersatuanDalamKeberagaman. Finally, the following hashtags are about 509 political issues, including #GanjarPranowo and #GanjarKita. Ganjar is a political figure who regularly communicates with the public through social media platforms such as YouTube and Twitter. Ganjar Pranowo's social media output has contributed to being one of Indonesia's most well-known influencers and political personalities. Meanwhile, Ganjar Pranowo has recently been prominently exposed on Twitter due to his nomination to become Indonesian president between 2024 and 2029. Therefore, it has become a strategy for expressing #ModerasiBeragama to make it more familiar in society.

In the case of #ModerasiBeragama, it is followed by nine hashtags with religious and political nuances as part of an effort to focus public discussion on one concern. This means that utilizing other hashtags after #ModerasiBeragama is intended to bring general issues into one topic of discussion. Using the hashtag #ModerasiBeragama signifies engaging in the Twitter conversation. Using #Moderasiberagama with other hashtags attempts to improve public reach through likes, replies, and retweets.

Table 2: Posts engaging #ModerasiBeragama

Hashtag	Mention	Retweet	Like
#ModerasiBeragama	"hakikat moderasi beragama sejatinya sama dengan islam moderat, yaitu sekularisasi islam. Ini karena proyek moderasi beragama bertujuan melahirkan muslim yang moderat bukan muslim yang taat kafah."	58	98
#IslamKaffah	"Ide moderasi beragama dianggap mampu memberi ilmu pengetahuan yang lurus bagi mahasiswa, supaya mereka membawa kemaslahatan bagi masyarakat. Benarkah anggapan ini? Simak jawabannya di Serba Serbi MMC!"	5	5

#SelamatkanGenerasi denganIslam	"BNPT bekerjasama dengan sejumlah pesantren untuk memberikan pelatihan pembuatan konten digital yang penuh dengan pesan perdamaian, toleransi, dan generasi beragama."	8	11
#KitaPancasila	"Sedang menonton @BPIPRI @mimbarsopan di Kompas TV. Menarik banget sih ini obrolannya tentang Dialog Kebangsaan Moderasi Beragama. Hayoo ini ancaman serius kalau tdk disingkapi dengan benar. Bagaimana posisi kita?".	10	9
#GanjarPranowo	"Lingkar studi keagamaan dan kebangsaan adalah sepaket sebagai ruang moderasi beragama, sekaligus bisa meningkatkan kecintaan kepada bangsa."	45	87
#GanjarKita	"Masjd Agung Jawa Tengah siap menjadi tempat rumah moderasi beragama dan pisat umat muslim."	55	79

Furthermore, Table 2 above is the outcome of observations about the content of postings that include the hashtag #ReligiousModeration and the hashtag following it. #ModerasiBeragama is a tweet issued on November 20, 2022, by the @muslimahnewscom account, with 58 retweets and 98 likes. According to the post, the essence of religious moderation is the same as moderate Islam, namely Islam's secularization." The reason is the Islamic moderation project's goal of producing moderate Muslims rather than dedicated Muslims. The message delivered includes the purpose of religious moderation to make Muslims devout and perfect *(kaffah).*

The second hashtag, account @MasihUmmu posted a tweet with the hashtag #IslamKaffah on August 15, 2022, with five retweets and five likes. The account also links a link for further reading regarding the post on Twitter. The post stated that religious moderation could give students straight knowledge to benefit society. Is this assumption valid? Check out the answer in Serba Serbi MMC!".

The religious moderation movement is also directly supported by BNPT, and this can be seen from a tweet that explains that "BNPT is working with many Islamic boarding schools to provide training in creating digital content full of messages of peace, tolerance, and religious generation." The tweet was posted by @ummuabyan23 on December 31, 2022, with eight retweets and eleven likes. The National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) is an Indonesian non-ministerial government agency concerned with countering terrorism and extremism in Indonesia.

In the fourth post, there is an element of nationalism in the discussion of religious moderation. It can be seen in a tweet by the @PontianakPagi account on April 1, 2022, with ten retweets and nine likes. The @PontianakPagi account tweeted, "Currently watching @BPIPRI @mimbarsopan on Kompas TV. It's really interesting to talk about the National Dialogue on Religious Moderation. Come on; this is a serious threat if not properly addressed. What is our position?". Through these posts, it can be seen that the campaign for religious moderation does not only involve religious elements but also involves a sense of nationalism through the hashtag #KitaPancasila

In the trend of religious moderation, posts containing political aspects are found. The political nuances can be seen in the hashtags #GanjarPranowo and #Ganjar, which have helped enliven the trend of religious moderation. For example, the account @GanjaranApp, which posted a tweet on December 27, 2022, with 45 retweets and 87 likes, the post stated

that the circle of religious and national studies is a package as a space for religious moderation while simultaneously increasing love for the nation. The tweet shows that the @GanjaranApp account supports religious moderation and involves a sense of nationalism to make it happen. Furthermore, the @ganjaranApp account also posted a tweet on February 10, 2023, with 55 retweets and 79 likes. In the post-@GanjaranApp. The post stated The Great Mosque of Central Java is ready to become a place of religious moderation and a center for Muslims."

According to the hashtag analysis findings, using religious moderation hashtags aims to disseminate concerns among netizens. The usage of religious moderation hashtags, followed by other connected matters, can assist in increasing the number of netizen responses through likes, replies, and retweets. Meanwhile, findings from hashtag analysis indicate that religious moderation campaigns are always associated with other concerns, including religious and political issues. This connection can be recognized through hashtagged mentions on specific accounts.

iii.   The Analysis of Religious Moderation Social Networks

Social network analysis (SNA) can help through mapping and measuring interactions and can find out who is the opinion leader of a group. Through Drone Emprit, it can be seen that a social network was formed between April 2022 and March 2023 from accounts that uploaded tweets about religious moderation. SNA visualizes nodes through accounts and hashtags. The visualization shows the relationships and engagements between each actor (nodes) in red and green clusters. The red clusters mean positive sentiments, but the green clusters visualize negative sentiments The blue clusters are an actor or influencer as an opinion leader.
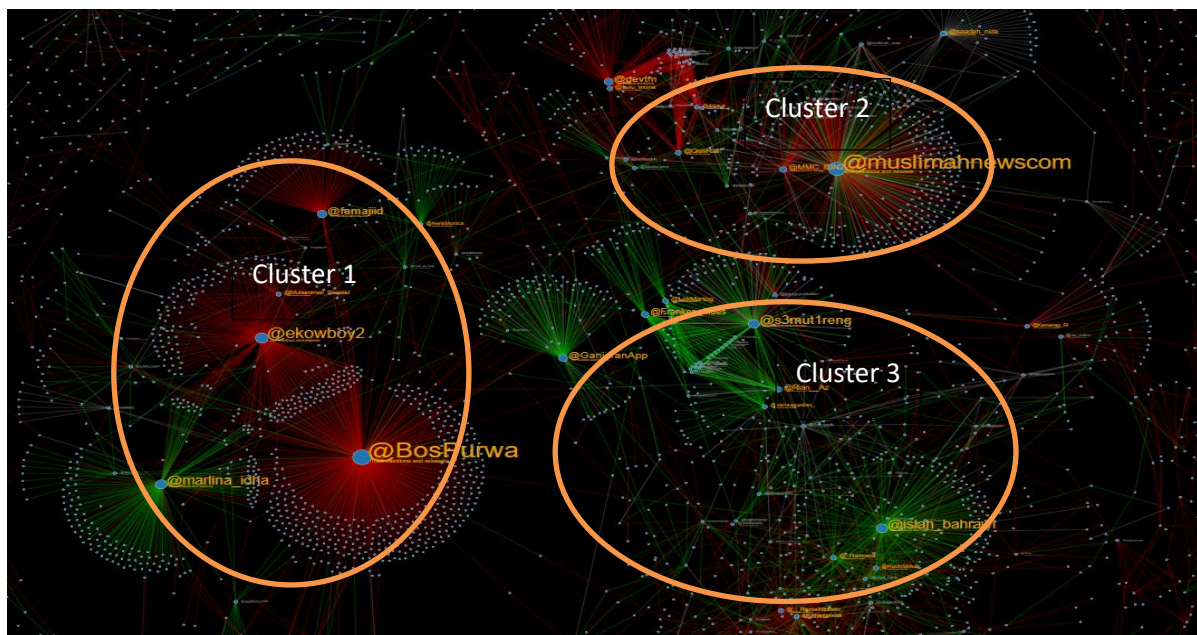

Figure 3: Trend of total mention, replies, and retweets on Twitter between October 2022 to March 2023

In Figure 3, three clusters in social networks discuss the topic of religious moderation. The first cluster is dominated by negative sentiment, with opinion leader @BosPurwa with 1166 mentions and retweets and @ekowboy2 with 477 mentions and retweets. In the first cluster, a positive sentiment is formed from the @marlina_idha account with 322 mentions and retweets. Furthermore, the second cluster is dominated by negative sentiment by the @muslimahnewscom account, with 877 mentions and retweets, and the @gevtm account,

with 181 mentions and retweets. Furthermore, cluster three is dominated by positive sentiment by accounts @islah_bahrawi with 305 mentions and retweets, @s3mut1reng with 301 mentions and retweets, and @GanjaranApp with 184 mentions and retweets.

iv.   The Engagement of Nationalism and Political Issues from Opinion Leaders

Trend results show fluctuations visualized through the first and second 6-month vulnerable charts. The trend of religious moderation campaigns is consistent without any blank conversations from actors or netizens on Twitter. From May 2022 to June 2022, there were no religious moderation mentions, retweets, and replies, but this shows a smaller percentage than the moderation campaign activities in other months. These results emphasize that religious moderation is always echoed on social media, even in small numbers. This is because religious narratives often appear to be dominated by conservative views of 67.2%, while narratives of religious moderation are only 22.2% (Halimatusa'diyah, 2020). Thus, this proves that religious moderation campaigns are more popular through conventional-bureaucratic offline media than through social media.

Furthermore, hashtags show the relationship between the religious moderation campaign and other issues. Hashtags on Twitter describe that the trend of religious moderation campaigns is related to and followed by other issues, including issues of nationalism and politics. Related issues aim to increase the number of discussions on religious moderation campaigns that are becoming a trend or popular. These engagements can be seen from the hashtags #KitaPancasila and #BeautifulUnionInDiversity, with 584 tweets on Twitter. Meanwhile, political issues also received a significant number of 509, including the hashtags #GanjarPranowo and #GanjarKita. For example, the account @GanjaranApp posted a tweet on December 27, 2022, with 45 retweets and 87 likes discussing the importance of religious moderation to increase love for the country. The @ganjaranApp account also posted a tweet on February 10, 2023, with a total of 55 retweets and 79 likes regarding religious moderation houses of worship for all religions.

The discussion of religious moderation on Twitter has several opinion leaders. Opinion leaders have a central role in campaigning for religious moderation to netizens or other actors and raising the trend of religious moderation to become a public conversation. The observation results show that opinion leaders are visualized through Twitter accounts using names or personal identities. This means that the involvement of the government and Indonesian media portals is less than the role of opinion leaders who come from individual netizens. The opinion leaders from netizens are like @BosPurwa with 1166 and @ekowboy2 with 477 mentions and retweets.

CONCLUSION

The results of SNA research show that the trend for religious moderation campaigns on Twitter fluctuated wildly from April 2022 to March 2023. Opinion leaders spread the trend for religious moderation campaigns as influencers from netizens. Opinion leaders can be identified that the trend of moderation campaigns is not popularized by the government, media portals, or religious organizations but through tweets on Twitter which are then mentioned, replied to, and retweeted. In campaigning for religious moderation, the government is considered to have shown less intensive and explorative results. Explicitly, the trend of more massive campaigns for religious moderation has been popularized by netizens,

not by the government. In contrast, religious moderation is a government program in the 2019-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN).

As a driving force in popularizing the religious moderation campaign, opinion leaders associated it with issues of nationalism and politics. This connection is shown through hashtags that use keywords with nationalism and politics. Thus, the issue of nationalism and politics associated with the campaign for religious moderation is an articulation and implementation of efforts to counteract extremism and to encourage trend dominance to become a public conversation on Twitter. The research findings could assist governments, religious actors/organizations, online media portals, and stakeholders in designing, managing, and coordinating the participation of each opinion leader (influencer) in religious moderation campaigns by addressing issues of nationalism and politics on social media.

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BIODATA

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