

Religious Tolerance on Social Media: Public Perceptions of Puja Mandala

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ABSTRACT

Puja Mandala in Nusa Dua, Bali, is a complex of five houses of worship within a single area that offers a unique phenomenon—not only representing interreligious dialogue but also serving as an icon of tolerance. This paper aims to examine how Puja Mandala is interpreted by the public as a symbol of tolerance and how such perceptions are represented through interactions on social media. This study is important to understand the extent to which religious symbols such as Puja Mandala truly function as representations of tolerance rather than merely architectural constructs. Using a mixed-method approach, the analysis was conducted on 2,277 comments from YouTube and TikTok through sentiment analysis combined with library research. The findings show that positive (49.5%) and neutral (50.15%) comments dominate, while negative comments account for only 0.35%, confirming that the public tends to appreciate the diversity embodied in Puja Mandala. The main contribution of this study lies in its effort to bridge the discussion between religious architecture and public perception. This research demonstrates that religious symbols not only function within physical spaces but also disseminate the notion of tolerance on social media, with practical implications for strengthening interfaith harmony in Indonesia. The study further recommends that future researchers expand data sources to other platforms such as Instagram or Twitter and integrate them with ethnographic interviews.

Keywords: *Tolerance, Social Media, Puja Mandala, Public Perception, Religious Architecture*

Introduction

Religion today no longer appears solely as a private matter but actively manifests in the public sphere through symbols, discourse, and media representations. Mihai (2023) finds that media play a significant role in shaping the “religious public sphere” by framing religious events and identities within particular symbolic narratives. This process is closely related to the theory of the mediatization of religion, which explains how religion undergoes transformations in meaning when mediated by mass and digital media (Hjarvard, 2020). In this context, religious symbols—including the architecture of houses of worship—not only represent faith but also shape collective imaginaries about identity, difference, and the possibility of coexistence in the public sphere.

In this study, “symbol” is understood not merely as a physical object, but as a social signifier that carries collective meaning and is contested within the public sphere. The presence of religious symbols in public space is always intertwined with dynamics of power, identity, and social interpretation (Thompson, 2023). Meanwhile, “tolerance” is conceptualized as a social

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practice manifested in public attitudes and discourse, rather than merely as a normative teaching (Sremac & Ganzevoort, 2017). In the digital context, this study operationalizes tolerance as discursive tolerance, defined as the absence of exclusionary or derogatory language and the presence of inclusive expressions in social media comments.

Indonesia offers a compelling case for examining how tolerance is constructed and practiced in social life. Thoyib et al. (2024) demonstrate that pesantren-based educational experiences significantly contribute to the formation of tolerant attitudes among students in Islamic higher education institutions. This finding is reinforced by Ghifari et al. (2025), who show that the teaching of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) and inclusive community practices within pesantren foster openness toward difference. In the broader social sphere, Nurlaili H. et al. (2025) reveal that interactions between Hindu and Muslim communities in Bali promote social harmony through processes of cultural acculturation. Meanwhile, Abidin et al. (2025) indicate that the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) plays an important role in building interreligious trust through dialogue and cooperation. Collectively, these findings underscore that tolerance in Indonesia develops through education as well as lived experiences of coexistence within a plural society.

Several previous studies indicate that religious architecture is often understood as a symbolic representation of tolerance and coexistence. Jan et al. (2024) find that the construction of mosques and churches in majority-minority regions such as Manado and Gorontalo reflects a social commitment to peaceful coexistence. Lavinia (2024) demonstrates that Gothic cathedrals such as Notre Dame and Chartres function not only as places of worship but also as cross-cultural symbols that unite global communities. Naumann (2024), in a study of the House of One project in Berlin, emphasizes that the integration of a mosque, church, and synagogue within a single complex is interpreted as a symbol of historical reconciliation. Similarly, Maku et al. (2024) interpret the Terowongan Silaturahmi in Jakarta as an architecture of fraternity that strengthens interreligious dialogue. However, most of these studies focus on the physical dimension, design, and institutional meaning of architecture, while how such symbols are understood and negotiated within the digital public sphere remains underexplored.

Based on this research gap, this study aims to analyze how Puja Mandala functions as a symbol of interreligious tolerance in the public sphere while also examining how this symbol is interpreted, represented, and negotiated within social media discourse. This research does not view Puja Mandala solely as a physical architectural complex, but as a symbol continuously reproduced through digital interaction and online conversation, thereby understanding tolerance as a discursive practice manifested in online public discourse. This study is important because social media increasingly plays a dominant role in shaping public perceptions of religious symbols; therefore, the understanding of tolerance must be expanded from the physical sphere to.

Methods

This study employs a quantitative approach through sentiment analysis, supported by a literature review as its conceptual foundation. Sentiment analysis was selected because it enables the empirical mapping of public perceptions by classifying comments into positive, neutral, and negative categories, thereby allowing for an objective measurement of opinion trends (B. Liu, 2012). Meanwhile, the literature review was conducted to deepen the conceptual understanding of religious symbols and tolerance (Zed, 2008). The primary data consist of public comments from one YouTube video and two TikTok videos that explicitly discuss Puja Mandala as a symbol of interreligious tolerance. The videos were selected based on two criteria: direct relevance to the research topic and the highest number of views at the time of data collection, under the assumption that higher view counts reflect broader public engagement. Comments were collected through a web scraping process using Apify, and all analyzed data were publicly available comments.

Of the 2,394 comments collected, 2,277 were used after undergoing a preprocessing stage, which included removing non-alphabetic characters, normalizing text to lowercase, and eliminating stopwords to enhance textual consistency. A total of 200 comments were randomly selected and manually labeled into three sentiment categories to serve as the basis for fine-tuning the IndoBERT-base-p1 model for three epochs. The fine-tuned model was subsequently used to classify all comments in the dataset. The analysis focused on sentiment distribution as an indicator of discursive tolerance within the digital public sphere. In reporting the findings, user identities were not disclosed, and the study adhered to digital research ethics principles by utilizing only publicly available data for academic purposes.

Literature Review

Religious tolerance is not merely understood as a normative attitude of respecting difference, but as a social practice continuously shaped through interaction and communication among individuals and groups. In general, tolerance is defined as the willingness to respect and grant space to others to practice their beliefs without interference (Muda & Mohd Tohar, 2020). However, several scholars argue that tolerance should not remain at the level of mere “forbearance,” but must develop into mutual understanding and active engagement in interfaith relations (Gregorius, 1995; Gunawan et al., 2019). In plural societies, tolerance functions to prevent horizontal conflict and to strengthen social cohesion (Ibrahim et al., 2023). Thus, tolerance can be understood as a social process manifested in practices of coexistence, including the organization of shared spaces that enable harmonious interreligious encounters.

Scholarship on the religious public sphere demonstrates that interreligious coexistence is not confined to theological dialogue, but is also materialized through spatial design and organization. Burchardt (2023) shows that the House of One project in Berlin was designed as a complex integrating a mosque, church, and synagogue within a single structure as a symbol of interreligious coexistence. Fabretti (2025) analyzes various typologies of multi-faith religious spaces—from integrated worship complexes to interfaith chapels—understood as part of the cultural heritage of urban environments. Meanwhile, through a case study of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Turin, Pignotti and Giorda (2025) emphasize that houses of worship can function as shared spaces facilitating dialogue and mediation in plural societies. These findings suggest that religious architecture not only represents faith, but also operates as a spatial instrument shaping interreligious coexistence in the public sphere.

One of the philosophical frameworks shaping the spatial dimension of tolerance in Indonesia can be found in the Balinese cultural tradition through the concept of Tri Hita Karana. This philosophy emphasizes harmony between humans and God (*parahyangan*), among humans (*pawongan*), and between humans and nature (*palemahan*) (Hisyam et al., 2024). It is understood not merely as an ethical teaching, but as a principle guiding social organization and spatial arrangement. In this perspective, harmony is not simply a moral value, but a balance realized concretely in practices of coexistence and the management of public space (Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2023). Therefore, the presence of religious symbols within a single area is not viewed solely as a form of normative tolerance, but as a cosmological expression that positions interconnectedness and balance as the foundation of collective life. This framework provides an essential basis for understanding how multi-faith spaces such as Puja Mandala are interpreted within the Balinese context.

Puja Mandala in Nusa Dua, Bali, represents one example of how five houses of worship—Hindu, Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, and Buddhist—are situated side by side within a single complex as a symbol of coexistence (Hynson, 2021). This spatial arrangement not only represents diversity, but also manifests tolerance in a visible and experiential form. The architectural configuration reflects principles of balance and interconnectedness consistent with Balinese local philosophy.

Although its physical and symbolic dimensions are clearly apparent, how this space is interpreted and perceived within the digital public sphere has received limited scholarly attention.

Result and Discussion

Implementation of Religious Tolerance in the Five Major Religions

The world's major religions—Islam, Catholicism, Hinduism, Protestantism, and Buddhism—all emphasize the importance of tolerance as a foundation of religious life. This teaching is not merely a moral principle but originates from sacred texts and historical religious experience. In modern plural societies, the value of tolerance has become increasingly vital, as intercultural and interfaith encounters are inevitable. Academic studies indicate that despite theological diversity, all religions share a commitment to mutual respect and the avoidance of hostility. Islam, for instance, upholds the concept of *al-ta'āyush* or coexistence, while Catholicism emphasizes ecumenical dialogue (Hisyam et al., 2024; Tio, 2025). Hinduism speaks of the plurality of paths to truth, Protestantism underscores the freedom of conscience, and Buddhism places compassion as the key to harmony (Kudelska et al., 2021; Lende et al., 2024; Sonika, 2018). These perspectives illustrate how both the theory and practice of tolerance are intrinsic to religious life, guiding believers toward peaceful coexistence.

In Islam, tolerance is rooted in the Qur'an and Hadith, which emphasize respect for diversity. The Medina Charter, for example, is often interpreted as an early model of a multicultural social contract that allowed Jews, Muslims, and other communities to coexist peacefully. The concept of *ahl al-dhimma* in the classical period also demonstrated a legal recognition of non-Muslim existence within Islamic governance. Many historians argue that this principle reflects Islam's internal mechanism for managing plurality without compromising the integrity of faith (Kalatini et al., 2025). Thus, the discourse on tolerance is not a modern invention but has been embedded in Islamic civilization since its inception—its evolution today being a contextual adaptation of a timeless principle.

The pesantren (Islamic boarding school) tradition in Indonesia provides tangible evidence of how Islamic tolerance is practiced socially. A study of Pesantren Al-Muthmainnah shows that *salafiyah* values coexist with education that fosters openness toward differences. Students are not only taught religious sciences but are also trained to engage in dialogue across perspectives, cultivating a deeply inclusive attitude (Al Ghifari et al., 2025). Moreover, Sundanese clerics employ polite language and cultural approaches to maintain interreligious harmony in West Java (Dulwahab et al., 2025). These findings demonstrate that tolerance in Islam is not merely theoretical discourse but a lived practice transmitted through education, communication, and the moral example of religious leaders.

In Catholicism, the idea of tolerance possesses a strong theological dimension. One expression of this is the doctrine of the hierarchy of truths, which allows inter-church dialogue without compromising core beliefs. Paul L. Gavriluk (2025) highlights how the Council of Nicaea provided a framework for restoring Eucharistic communion between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. This view emphasizes that Catholic tolerance is not relativism but recognition that truth can also be found in other traditions. From this foundation emerged the enduring spirit of ecumenism. Although theological differences remain, the pursuit of common ground through mutual respect and acknowledgment represents a path toward genuine fraternity.

These values are reflected in social practice. Roberto Regoli (2025) demonstrates how Pope Benedict XVI's social teaching emphasizes human dignity, intercultural dialogue, and collective responsibility for peace. The Catholic Church not only preaches these ideals but mobilizes believers in education, healthcare, and human rights advocacy. Active participation in interfaith forums also illustrates the Church's concrete efforts to build a just and peaceful society. Thus, Catholicism manifests tolerance as both social service and spirituality, integrating faith-based

values with the needs of multicultural society. From theology to praxis, this teaching consistently emphasizes love and openness for the common good.

Hinduism upholds pluralism as part of its universal principles. Theoretically, it teaches that there is no single path to truth. The phrase *Ekam sat vipra bahudha vadanti*—“Truth is one, but the wise call it by many names”—symbolizes the belief that truth has multiple expressions (Kudelska et al., 2021). A study of the Bathou faith in Assam illustrates how a traditional religion can persist while negotiating its identity under the broader Hindu framework (Brahma, 2024). This demonstrates Hinduism’s flexibility in embracing diverse practices without losing its core value of *Dharma*. In this way, Hinduism embodies tolerance that is not rigid but adaptive, absorbing differences while reinforcing identity.

In daily life, Hindu tolerance can be observed within diaspora communities. Gero Menzel and Viera Pirker (2025) examined Hindu communities in Germany who, during the COVID-19 pandemic, utilized digital spaces to foster interfaith solidarity. Through online rituals, social cooperation, and interfaith dialogue, these communities demonstrated that tolerance can be creatively enacted even amid physical restrictions. Their presence enriches multicultural societies and shows that tolerance is a living practice responsive to contemporary challenges. Hinduism, with its philosophical heritage, thus embraces both internal and global pluralism.

Protestantism arises from a reformation tradition emphasizing freedom of conscience as the foundation of faith. This doctrine rejects the monopoly of authority over individual belief, opening space for doctrinal pluralism (Lende et al., 2024). Lockey (2025) notes that early Protestant figures such as Sidney stressed religious freedom as an essential part of faith. From this principle emerged the idea that tolerance is not merely a social strategy but a direct consequence of a faith that honors freedom. Thus, Protestantism presents a form of tolerance deeply connected to respect for individual rights, which later evolved into a modern social ethic in Western societies.

This teaching is actualized through the social engagement of Protestant churches. Nurhidayati and Suharno (2025) found that civic education serves as an important medium for cultivating tolerance. Through interfaith dialogue, social initiatives, and democratic participation, Protestant communities demonstrate their commitment to harmony. These practices extend the Church’s influence into public life and embed tolerance within living faith identity. Protestantism, therefore, unites the theology of conscience with concrete action in plural societies.

Buddhism places compassion (*karuṇā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) at its core. Conceptually, it emphasizes awareness of shared suffering and the importance of non-harm toward all beings (Sonika, 2018). Young-Jin Kim (2025) highlights how Korean Buddhism during the colonial period developed a framework of life-death transcendence as justification for social and political engagement while adhering to nonviolence. This shows that even under historical pressure, Buddhism consistently maintained its values of tolerance—understanding others’ suffering and responding with compassion.

In modern life, Buddhism manifests tolerance through ecological movements. Studies found that Thai Buddhist communities developed the concept of *Eco-Sattva* as a response to the plastic waste crisis (Y. Liu et al., 2025). This movement invites all people, regardless of religion, to protect the Earth as a shared home. The Buddhist notion of interconnectedness provides an ethical and spiritual foundation for collective environmental action. This demonstrates that tolerance transcends religious boundaries when environmental stewardship becomes a shared moral responsibility. Buddhism, therefore, offers a universal model of tolerance integrated with ecological action relevant to contemporary global challenges.

Despite doctrinal differences, all five major religions share a commitment to tolerance through different paths. Islam emphasizes *al-ta’āyush* and the pesantren tradition; Catholicism promotes ecumenism and social service; Hinduism embodies internal pluralism and diaspora solidarity; Protestantism grounds tolerance in freedom of conscience; and Buddhism expresses

compassion through both historical and ecological action. These variations demonstrate that doctrinal diversity does not prevent consensus on the importance of peaceful coexistence. Rather, such diversity enriches the understanding that tolerance is a universal value upheld by all faiths—a civilizational foundation enabling humans to live together in justice and harmony.

Expression of Religious Tolerance in the Architecture of Puja Mandala

Amid the dynamic discourse surrounding religious diversity in Indonesia, Bali offers a unique phenomenon worthy of in-depth examination. The Island of the Gods is renowned not only for its natural beauty but also for its remarkable ability to preserve interfaith harmony in tangible form. One of the most concrete manifestations of this exceptional religious tolerance is the existence of Puja Mandala, a worship complex that accommodates five different religions within a single area. This uniqueness makes Puja Mandala a symbol of tolerance that not only draws academic attention but also serves as an inspiration for the broader public to understand how differences can be managed wisely and harmoniously.

Etymologically, the term *Puja Mandala* derives from Sanskrit, in which *puja* means worship or veneration, while *mandala* refers to an area or space. Literally, therefore, *Puja Mandala* can be interpreted as an area or environment for worship (Alifia & Jusuf, 2023; Koosandriyani, 2018). This complex serves as an integrated worship area housing five houses of worship representing the major religions officially recognized in Indonesia—Hinduism, Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Buddhism. What makes it extraordinary is how these five religious buildings are positioned within a single compound without any striking physical barriers, creating a sense of togetherness rarely found elsewhere. Each building maintains its distinct architectural character while simultaneously blending into a unified and harmonious composition. This concept emerges from a deep understanding of pluralism as a form of wealth rather than a threat to be avoided.



Figure 1.
Religious Architecture in Puja Mandala

Source: <https://tanjungbenoabali.com/puja-mandala-bali/>

The most distinctive characteristic of Puja Mandala lies in its architectural design, which embodies the principles of equality and mutual respect. As can be observed in *Figure none of the buildings are constructed to appear taller or grander than the others, symbolizing that no religion is deemed superior* (Alifia & Jusuf, 2023). The Pura Jagatnatha, serving as the Hindu temple, stands with traditional Balinese architecture, while the Ibnu Batutah Grand Mosque displays the distinctive nuances of Middle Eastern design. The Maria Bunda Segala Bangsa Catholic Church and the Bukit Doa Protestant Church feature clean, modern architectural forms, whereas the Buddha Guna Vihara integrates traditional Buddhist elements with local touches (PutraMa, 2024). This visual equilibrium is not coincidental but the outcome of careful planning that prioritizes harmony within diversity.

The history of Puja Mandala's construction dates back to 1978, initiated by President Soeharto during his visit to Bali. The idea arose from a desire to create a tangible symbol of unity and interreligious tolerance, particularly on an island predominantly Hindu yet serving as an international tourist destination (Anshori, 2018). The development progressed gradually and was fully completed in the 1990s. Its construction involved active participation from various religious communities, reflecting the strong spirit of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) deeply rooted in Indonesian culture. The strategic location in Nusa Dua was deliberately chosen as an international tourism zone, intended to serve as a showcase of Indonesia's religious tolerance to the world (Farhan & Najikh, 2024) especially interactions supported by religion, and how tolerance forms within a diverse society. Tolerance, naturally developed by humans, is defined as the disposition to permit differences in beliefs and behaviors. This research focuses on the dynamics of religious tolerance at Puja Mandala in Nusa Dua, Bali, emphasizing the communication interactions between Hindu and Muslim communities living side by side. Using a qualitative approach, the researcher observes the circular communication pattern (Circular Pattern).

However, to fully understand the existence of Puja Mandala, it is essential to situate it within the broader context of Bali's long-standing tradition of religious tolerance. The island has a rich history of managing diversity long before the concept of Puja Mandala emerged. The Tri Hita Karana philosophy, which emphasizes harmony among humans, divinity, and nature, forms a strong foundation for genuine tolerance (Hisyam et al., 2024). The concept of *Tat Twam Asi*, meaning "you are me," teaches respect for all beings regardless of religious background (Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2023). The Nyepi tradition, which involves all community members—including non-Hindus—in maintaining silence and tranquility, further demonstrates how spiritual values can be collectively practiced across religions (Rahmadani & Prasetyo, 2024).

Religious tolerance in Bali is also reflected in the daily lives of its plural society. In many villages, one can find mosques located near temples or churches within predominantly Hindu neighborhoods (Halimatusa'diah, 2018). More interestingly, members of different faiths often assist one another in organizing religious events—for example, Hindu youths helping prepare for Eid al-Fitr celebrations or Muslims participating in securing Nyepi processions (Rahmadani & Prasetyo, 2024). These examples show that tolerance in Bali is not merely theoretical but a lived practice embedded in everyday life. Local wisdom such as *menyama braya*, emphasizing universal brotherhood, serves as a powerful social adhesive (Yanti, 2024).

Religious tolerance in Puja Mandala, Nusa Dua, is manifested through spatial arrangements that grant equal treatment to the five religions—Islam, Hinduism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Buddhism. Each religious community was allocated an equally sized plot of approximately 0.4 hectares to construct its place of worship according to its unique needs and characteristics. The architectural design was entrusted entirely to each community, while ensuring visual and spiritual harmony throughout the area. This inclusive planning process reflects the principle of cultural planning, which emphasizes stakeholder participation in decision-making and symbolizes equality in the practice of interreligious tolerance (Hikmatul, 2025).

The architectural dimension of Puja Mandala demonstrates how each house of worship retains its distinctive identity without dominating the others. The temple stands with its multi-tiered meru tower, the mosque with its grand dome, the churches with their bell towers, and the vihara with its pagoda. Together, they create a visual harmony that complements one another. This illustrates that authentic identity need not be sacrificed for coexistence; rather, it can enrich cross-cultural and interfaith dialogue (Waruwu & Pramono, 2018).

Tolerance is also evident in the management system of Puja Mandala, which involves representatives from all five religions equitably. All policy decisions concerning the complex are made through joint deliberations, while the scheduling of religious activities is coordinated to prevent disruption among communities. In practice, interfaith communities often assist one another during major religious celebrations. This governance model proves that tolerance is not

merely a mental attitude but also requires organizational structures that support harmonious coexistence (Setyabudi, 2020) the advancement of religious culture encourages the concept of diversity and religious management. This research discusses about how the conception of a more mature tolerance for religious management and the advancement of religious culture in Indonesia. By referring the local wisdom and reflecting the tolerance portraits of the field research in one of the tolerance center in Puja Mandala Bali, this research delivers a description and analysis upon a more ultimate model of tolerance. The writer uses a transformative approach to elaborate the concept of tolerance which emphasizes on the respect of equality between the majority and minority. The conclusion shows that the religious culture projection in the future to establish an excellent tolerance urges to leave a permissive and dominative tolerance and to brace a mutualistic and reciprocal tolerance with mutual relations (mutual-respect and mutual-recognition).

The presence of Puja Mandala has also shaped the surrounding community to become more open and appreciative of diversity. Children grow up in a plural environment where the sounds of the adhan, church bells, temple gamelan, and Buddhist chants coexist peacefully without conflict. Economic and social interactions among vendors and workers from different faiths occur naturally and harmoniously. Furthermore, Puja Mandala serves as a space for interreligious dialogue that is not only symbolic but also functional. Exchanges of spiritual experiences often take place, where adherents of different religions mutually respect each other's rituals (Pramono & Hud, 2021). These practices affirm that tolerance in Puja Mandala has evolved from mere coexistence to a profound mutual understanding.

Public Perception on Social Media Toward Religious Tolerance in Puja Mandala

The digital era has transformed how people interact and express their religious views (Bingaman, 2023). Social media, particularly YouTube and TikTok, has become a virtual public sphere where discourses on religious tolerance evolve with complex dynamics. This phenomenon is reflected in the public's responses to content that highlights interfaith harmony, such as coverage of King Salman's visit, during which he admired the religious tolerance embodied in the Puja Mandala area of Nusa Dua, Bali, as shown in Figure 2. The Puja Mandala complex, which houses five different houses of worship within a single area, stands as a tangible symbol of religious pluralism successfully implemented in social life. The presence of such content on digital platforms illustrates how narratives of tolerance can be disseminated and resonate with the public on a massive scale.



Figure 2.
Religious Tolerance on YouTube

Source: Akun Youtube @CNN Indoneisa

Public responses to similar content exploring religious tolerance in Puja Mandala on TikTok Figure 3 demonstrate how social media algorithms can amplify narratives of interfaith harmony through short, visually engaging content appealing to younger audiences. This aligns with findings showing that creatively packaged interfaith messages—such as those shared by Habib Husein Ja'far—are effective in fostering public awareness of the importance of tolerance (Wahyudin, 2023). Other studies also emphasize that social media can serve as a persuasive and interactive platform for promoting religious moderation, although its reception often remains symbolic and influenced by digital trends (Pratiwi et al., 2021). From a digital ethics perspective, the construction of tolerance in online spaces also warrants critical reflection, as expressions often prioritize public image over genuine commitment to diversity in everyday practice (Anshar & Aرسال, 2023).

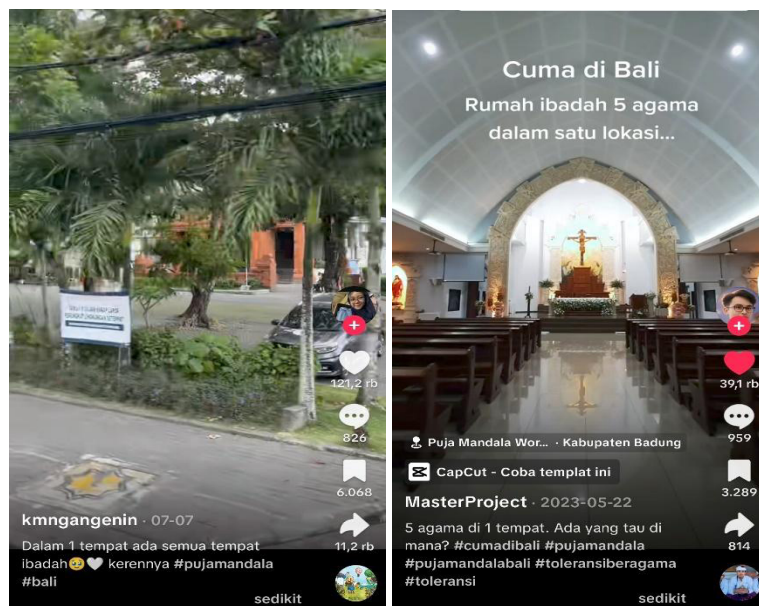


Figure 3.
Posts About Puja Mandala on TikTok

Source: Akun TikTok @kmngangenin & @MasterProject

A quantitative analysis of 2,277 collected comments reveals a distinctive distribution of public responses, as presented in Table 1. The results indicate that 1,142 comments (50.15%) were neutral, 1,127 comments (49.5%) positive, and only 8 comments (0.35%) negative. While the dominance of neutral and positive comments suggests a generally non-confrontational engagement with the content, this pattern requires careful interpretation. Neutrality does not necessarily imply explicit support for religious tolerance; rather, it may reflect cautious participation in discussions involving sensitive religious themes. Previous studies note that TikTok comment sections often function as arenas for negotiating social and religious identity, where users may avoid overtly polarizing expressions in favor of more measured responses (Sobarna, 2023). Similarly, research on religious-themed digital content shows that positive tones can emerge in contexts where tolerance is framed as a shared cultural narrative, although such expressions do not always represent deep normative commitment (Aminah & Muyassaroh, 2024).

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