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Advocacy through Instagram: content strategies of 'perceived-bad' organisations in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Social media, particularly Instagram, plays a crucial role in advocacy for gender equality and LGBT rights. In Indonesia, these efforts face resistance from conservative religious contexts, shaping how organisations communicate. This study addresses the question: what content strategies do feminist and LGBT organisations use for advocacy on Instagram? A quantitative content analysis examined 6 posts from six feminist and six LGBT groups, classified using the Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy: information, community, and action. Findings show feminist organisations post more frequently, while LGBT groups focus on action-oriented content (246 posts), followed by community (161) and information (120). Feminist groups also prioritise action (1,224 posts) but share substantial informational (1,019) and community (735) content. The results reveal an imbalance, highlighting the need for more integrated strategies that blend action, information, and community to enhance engagement in Indonesia's complex sociocultural environment.

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Introduction

Advocacy in the digital era has evolved significantly, with social media platforms becoming indispensable tools for communication, social movement, advocacy, and activism (Cammaerts, 2015; Scott, 2016). Some roles of social media related to activism include collaboration, community engagement, and promoting communication and interaction (Scott, 2016; Seelig, Millette, Zhou, & Huang, 2019). Instagram, one of the most popular platforms globally, has played a particularly crucial role in amplifying advocacy efforts. Its highly visual and interactive nature allows individuals and organisations to reach broader audiences, engage communities, and drive social change (Cornet, Hall, Cofaro, & Brady, 2017; Dumitrica & Hockin-Boyers, 2023; Giaxoglou, 2018; Haq et al., 2022). In Indonesia, social media platforms like Instagram have become a battleground for various advocacy movements, including gender equality and LGBT rights. However, advocating for these causes in Indonesia presents unique challenges due to the country's socio-cultural and religious landscape,

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which often views feminist and LGBT organisations as ‘perceived-bad’ or controversial entities.

Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim-majority nation, is a complex socio-political environment where conservative religious interpretations heavily influence public discourse and policy-making. Religious leaders occasionally make public statements asserting that LGBT individuals defy both nature and God’s will (UNDP, & USAID, 2014). This creates a difficult setting for feminist and LGBT organisations to operate, as their efforts to promote gender equality and sexual diversity often encounter resistance from conservative religious groups, policymakers, and segments of the broader society. Despite the growing global support for feminist and LGBT rights, these organisations continue to face marginalisation, both in terms of public perception and institutional support. The stigmatisation of their causes adds additional layers of complexity to their communication strategies, as they must carefully navigate how they present their messages to avoid backlash while still pushing for social change.

Social media, particularly Instagram, has emerged as a powerful medium for these organisations to advocate for their causes, bypassing traditional media outlets that may be biased or inaccessible. Instagram’s visual appeal, its focus on storytelling, and its ability to foster community engagement make it a favourable platform for feminist and LGBT advocacy groups. However, using Instagram effectively for advocacy requires more than just posting content. Organisations need to adopt carefully crafted content strategies that address the challenges of public perception while engaging their target audiences and mobilising support for their causes.

Several studies have been conducted on non-profit organisations involved in advocacy and activism regarding their use of social media (for example, Nah & Saxton, 2013, Seelig, et al., 2019), including how these organisations use social media for advocacy activities (for example Guo & Saxton, 2014; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). However, these studies do not specifically detail how social media is used for advocacy by non-profit organisations focused on feminism and LGBT issues. Moreover, those studies focus on Twitter and Facebook, while this research focuses on Instagram.

The role of social media in advocacy

Globally, social media has become a cornerstone of modern advocacy efforts, transforming how individuals and organisations communicate with their audiences. It enables organisations to reach a global audience, engage with followers in real-time, and mobilise communities around pressing issues. Social media-based advocacy allows for rapid dissemination of information (Dumbrell & Steele, 2013), fosters engagement and interaction with stakeholders (Nchabeleng, Botha, & Bisschoff, 2018; She, 2023), facilitates the creation of virtual communities (Withaneachi & Nagaraj, 2021), and supports the coordination of collective action (Milan, 2015). Platforms like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter provide advocacy groups with tools to broadcast their messages, build relationships with their audiences, and call for action.

Instagram, in particular, offers unique advantages for advocacy. As a visually-driven platform, it allows advocacy groups to leverage images, infographics, and videos to create compelling narratives that resonate with their audience. The platform’s interactive features – such as likes, comments, and sharing – enable

organisations to foster engagement and build online communities. For advocacy groups dealing with sensitive issues such as gender equality and LGBT rights, these features are invaluable for raising awareness, educating the public, and mobilising supporters to take action. Furthermore, the algorithmic nature of Instagram allows advocacy posts to go viral, extending their reach far beyond the organisations' immediate followers. For example, LGBTQ activists in Iran utilise Instagram to voice their opinions, collaborate, and challenge the gender and sexual norms imposed by the Iranian government (Hooman, 2022). Instagram also serves as a medium for feminist users to confront conventional gender and beauty standards while expressing their feminist ideologies to a varied audience (Mahoney, 2022).

Despite these advantages, there are significant challenges associated with using Instagram for advocacy in a conservative society like Indonesia. Organisations must contend with online harassment, negative public perceptions, and potential censorship. For feminist and LGBT organisations, these challenges are compounded by the deeply ingrained patriarchal and heteronormative values that dominate both the political and cultural arenas in Indonesia.

Advocacy in Indonesia: gender and LGBT issues

In Indonesia, feminist and LGBT organisations operate within a highly restrictive environment, where conservative religious beliefs strongly influence public discourse. Feminist organisations advocating for gender equality, reproductive rights, and the prevention of gender-based violence often face significant opposition from religious groups that perceive their efforts as contrary to traditional values. Similarly, LGBT organisations advocating for sexual and gender diversity face not only societal stigma but also legal and institutional barriers. Same-sex relationships, while not criminalised at the national level, are widely condemned, and certain regions in Indonesia have enacted local laws that explicitly target LGBT individuals and communities (UNDP, & USAID, 2014).

The negative perceptions surrounding feminist and LGBT organisations are often reinforced by religious and political actors, who frame their causes as threats to moral and religious values. This creates a hostile environment for advocacy, where organisations are often labelled as 'perceived-bad' for challenging the status quo. As a result, these organisations must tread carefully in how they communicate their messages, balancing the need to raise awareness and mobilise support with the risk of attracting negative attention or backlash.

Despite these challenges, feminist and LGBT organisations in Indonesia have increasingly turned to Instagram to advocate for their causes. By utilising the platform's visual and interactive features, these organisations seek to challenge prevailing narratives, raise awareness about gender and LGBT rights, and mobilise their followers to take action. However, given the complexities of the social and political environment, the success of these efforts largely depends on the effectiveness of their content strategies.



9 Figure 1. A pyramid model of social media-based advocacy (Guo & Saxton, 2014).

Content strategies in advocacy

Content strategy is a critical aspect of social media-based advocacy, as it determines how organisations communicate their messages, engage their audience, and achieve their advocacy goals. Effective content strategies involve not only the creation of informative and engaging content but also the strategic use of different types of posts to maximise impact. As illustrated in Figure 1, the Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy provides a useful framework for understanding the different types of content used in advocacy campaigns. This hierarchical model consists of three key stages: (1) outreach to individuals, (2) maintaining engagement, and (3) moving towards action. The organisation follows a three-step model: raising awareness, sustaining engagement, and mobilising supporters. Each stage builds on the previous one, with more messages in the early stages, forming a pyramid-shaped social media advocacy process (Guo & Saxton, 2014).

The model categorises content into three primary functions (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012):

- **Information:** Posts aimed at informing and educating the audience about the issue at hand.
- **Community:** Posts designed to foster engagement and build a sense of community among supporters.
- **Action:** Posts that encourage the audience to take specific actions, such as signing petitions, attending protests, or sharing content.

For advocacy campaigns to be effective, organisations need to strike a balance between these three types of content, ensuring that their posts not only raise awareness but also engage their audience and prompt action. In the context of feminist and LGBT organisations in Indonesia, developing a balanced content strategy is particularly important, as these organisations must navigate a challenging environment where both public perception and institutional opposition pose significant obstacles to their advocacy efforts.

Research question and study objectives

19 This study aims to examine the content strategies used by feminist and LGBT organisations in Indonesia on Instagram, with a specific focus on understanding how these organisations use the platform to advocate for gender equality and LGBT rights. The primary research question guiding this study is: *What are the content strategies utilized by feminist and LGBT organizations on Instagram?*

11 Method

Sample and data gathering

This study employed a quantitative content analysis of Instagram posts from 12 organisations, consisting of 6 feminist organisations – Indonesia Feminist, Lawan Patriarki, Jakarta Feminist, Magdaleneid, Mubadalahid, and SP Kinasih – along with 6 LGBT advocacy groups operating in Indonesia such as Arus Pelangi, GAYa Nusantara, Kabar Sejuk, PLUSH Yogyakarta, Cangkang Queer and Kolektif Tanpa Nama. These accounts were chosen due to their active participation in online advocacy and visibility within their respective communities. A brief description of these organisations is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. List of LGBT and feminist organisations.

No	Community	Description	Instagram account
1.	Kabar Sejuk – Serikat Jurnalis untuk Keberagaman	Kabar Sejuk (The Union of Journalists for Diversity) was founded in 2008 by journalists, human rights activists, and interfaith advocates to promote respect for diversity and human rights amidst rising media conservatism. Through capacity-building programs, SEJUK aims to improve media coverage that fosters tolerance and peace in diverse communities.	@kabarsejuk
2.	PLUSH Yogyakarta	PLUSH, an acronym for People Like Us Satu Hati, is a community established in Yogyakarta on 10 December 2006, and legally formalized in March 2008. The organization aims to advocate for human rights and serve as a platform for the LGBT community in Yogyakarta, particularly in advancing LGBT rights. PLUSH was founded in response to negative perceptions of the LGBT community and the lack of state recognition. It emphasizes the need for society to acknowledge diversity and prioritize social issues in Indonesia.	@plush.yogyakarta
3.	Gaya Nusantara Foundation	Gaya Nusantara Foundation, founded by Dede Oetomo on 1 August 1987, advocates for the equality and well-being of LGBTIQ individuals. Transitioning to a foundation on 27 June 2012, its mission is to uphold human rights and promote equality, freedom, and diversity in relation to bodies, gender identity and expression, and sexual orientation. The organization focuses on research, publications, and education concerning human rights, sex, gender, health, and sexual well-being.	@yayasangayanusantara

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued).

No	Community	Description	Instagram account
4.	Cangkang Queer	Cangkang Queer, founded on 10 February 2012, in North Sumatra, is an LGBTQ+ organization advocating for the rights of oppressed individuals based on sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC). The organization focuses on awareness-raising, empowering SOGIESC communities, advocating for policy reform, providing legal assistance, and documenting human rights violations, while also building networks for human rights advocacy.	@cangkang_queer
5.	Arus Pelangi	Arus Pelangi, founded on 15 January 2006, is an organization dedicated to defending LGBT rights in Indonesia. Its vision is to promote a society grounded in equality, respect, and support for LGBT+ individuals. Led by Yuli Rustinawati, recipient of the 2016 Felipa De Sousa Award from Outright International, Arus Pelangi's mission includes raising awareness, empowering vulnerable LGBT individuals, advocating for policy reforms to protect LGBT rights, and fostering public acceptance through empowerment initiatives.	@aruspelangi
6.	Kolektif Tanpa Nama	Kolektif Tanpa Nama is an LGBTQ+ organization established on 17 May 2018, in Yogyakarta, aimed at creating a safe space for LGBTQ+ individuals to connect and engage in discussions. The organization advocates for peaceful coexistence amidst diversity and focuses on facilitating conversations about sexual orientation, gender identity, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC), while also providing information and support for its members.	@kolektiftanpanama
7.	Magdalene Indonesia	The Madgalene Instagram account, run by an independent online magazine in Jakarta, aims to provide quality content and authentically represent women's experiences while challenging mainstream narratives on gender issues. Founded by journalists Devi Asmarani, Hera Diani, and Karima Anjani, it focuses on gender equality, women's empowerment, pluralism, and tolerance. Madgalene addresses taboo topics in Indonesia and seeks to redefine femininity, liberate minds from cultural biases, stimulate intellectual discourse, and question conventional norms.	@magdaleneid
8.	Jakarta Feminist	The Jakarta Feminist Intersectional Community (Lintas Feminist) advocates for women's rights and marginalized groups in Jakarta and its surroundings. Founded in 2014 as the Jakarta Feminist Discussion Group (JFDG), it organizes events like the Women's March Jakarta and Feminist Fest to raise awareness of feminism and intersectionality. Officially recognized in 2019, the community aims to enhance public understanding of these issues, encourage advocacy, and promote social change, striving for an inclusive Indonesia that upholds human rights for all.	@jakartafeminist
9.	SP Kinasih	Solidaritas Perempuan Kinasih Yogyakarta advocates for women's sovereignty over land, free trade, investment, and sexuality, with a focus on diversity and tolerance. Its goal is to create a just, democratic society that values ecological integrity, gender equality, and rejects discrimination. The organization collaborates with global women's movements, defends marginalized women, promotes human rights, challenges patriarchal values, and advocates for feminist principles in law and policy.	@sp_kinasihyogyakarta

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued).

No	Community	Description	Instagram account
10.	Lawan Patriarki	This community account, created in September 2018, serves as a platform for education, sharing, and resisting patriarchy. Its mission is to shed light on the dominance of patriarchal culture. The community addresses various issues, including violence against women survivors, the PKS Bill, omnibus law, and other topics related to women's rights in a patriarchal society.	@lawanpatriarki
11.	Indonesia Feminist	Indonesia Feminist (IF) is a community established in 2015 that promotes and prioritizes sexual and gender diversity as well as class consciousness. The community aims to combat patriarchy through the aggregation of literacy resources. Indonesia Feminist utilizes various social media platforms, including Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and its website, to disseminate its messages.	@indonesiafeminis
12.	Mubadalah.id	Mubadalah.id (MI) is an Islamic media platform that promotes mutual relationships between individuals and groups, especially between men and women. Guided by the principle of 'rahmatan lil 'alamin' (Islam's embrace of all creation), MI seeks to uphold values of justice and reciprocity in male-female interactions in daily life. The community uses an Islamic perspective, focusing on authoritative sources like the Qur'an and Hadith, as well as Islamic traditions such as tafsir and fiqh. Mubadalah is currently under the Fahmina Foundation and receives support from several organizations, including Umah Sinau Mubadalah and Fahmina Institute.	@mubadalah.id

A total of 50 recent posts (started on 24 August 2020) were manually collected from each organisation, resulting in a cumulative total of 600 posts. Data collection took place throughout August 2020. The posts were coded based on the classifications of information (education, information about the organisation's activities, the organisation's stance on a particular issue); community (expressions of support for a cause, celebrations of specific days); and action (calls to donate or participate in specific events). Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) use these categories for their research on Twitter, they can be generalised to other types of social media. This paper will also further analyse these categories through the lens of the Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy (Guo & Saxton, 2014). Additionally, the posts were also categorised based on the types of multimedia used, including graphics, images, photos, videos, audio, hashtags, emoticons, and interactivity. The coding process employed a closed coding approach, using a predefined list of codes developed based on existing literature. To ensure consistency and reliability, six coders underwent a 120-minute training session on the coding procedures, after which they coded posts from 12 organisations for the month of September 2020. Intercoder reliability was assessed using Cohen's Kappa, yielding coefficients ranging from 0.74 to 1.00, indicating substantial to almost perfect agreement among the coders. To further clarify the rationale behind the subcategories, we elaborated on the classification of specific post types. For instance, 'Celebration' is categorised under 'Community' because its primary function is to generate positive visibility and affirm a shared identity

Table 2. Conceptual framework.

Category	Sub-Category	
Information	Information	Opinion
	Education	Announcement
Community	Support	Celebration
	Announcement	Recommendation
	Reply	Quote
	Response Encouragement	Sympathy
Action	Donation request	Vote request
	Campaign request	Video watch
	Interaction request	Read news
	Event promotion	Giveaway competition
	Product sales	Attitude change
	Volunteer request	Product creation
	Lobbying	Download works
	Join Community	

among members, ultimately fostering a sense of community. ‘*Event promotion*’, while possibly containing informational elements, is placed under ‘*Action*’ due to its direct call for public participation – for example, encouraging donations or inviting followers to attend events. These categorisations were guided by the dominant communicative intent of each post type and the necessity of maintaining mutually exclusive coding categories. The distribution of post types across the three categorisations is shown in [Table 2](#).

Results and discussion

The content analysis revealed notable differences in the Instagram strategies of feminist and LGBT organisations. Feminist organisations posted content more frequently than LGBT groups, as an illustration, the Indonesia Feminist account published 50 posts between August 13 and 25 August 2020, while Magdaleneid shared 50 posts from July 30 to 24 August 2020. In contrast, GaYa Nusantara uploaded 50 posts between May 25 and 25 August 2020, and Arus Pelangi shared 50 posts over a longer period, from April 13 to 24 August 2020.

- **LGBT Organizations:** Action-oriented content was the most prevalent, with 246 posts (46.7%), followed by community engagement content with 161 posts (30.5%) and informational posts with 120 (22.8%).
- **Feminist Organizations:** Feminist organisations showed a slightly more balanced approach. Action-oriented posts comprised 1,224 posts (41.1%), informational content was close behind with 1,019 posts (34.2%), and community engagement content accounted for 735 posts (24.7%).

These results indicate that while both types of organisations prioritise action-oriented content, feminist organisations engage more heavily in producing informational content compared to LGBT organisations. An overview of the distribution of posts published by feminist and LGBT organisations is presented below as a comparison chart ([Figure 2](#)) and the frequency of occurrence of content types as coded in this study ([Figures 3 and 4](#)).

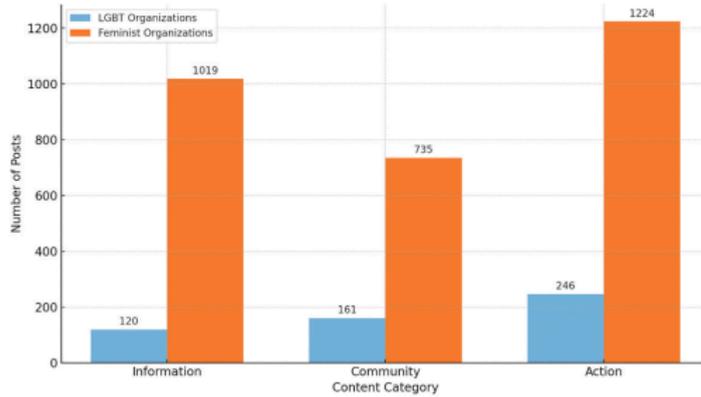


Figure 2. Content comparison between feminist and LGBT organizations.

Category	Sub-Category	PLUSH Yogyakarta	Kabar Sejuk	Arus Pelangi	Kolektif Tanpa Nama	Yayasan Gaya Nusantara	Cangkang Queer	Total
Information	Information	7	29	5	1	3	0	45
	Education	5	9	11	4	11	9	49
	Opinion	1	0	2	9	0	0	12
	Declaration	1	5	5	2	1	0	14
Frequency		14	43	23	16	15	9	120
Community	Support	0	0	1	2	7	0	10
	Announcement	0	1	8	0	10	12	31
	Reply	0	0	1	3	2	0	6
	Response encouragement	0	3	4	1	4	3	15
	Celebration	14	10	10	5	16	11	66
	Recommendation	0	2	0	0	0	13	15
	Quote	0	1	1	1	5	0	8
	Sympathy	0	7	1	2	0	0	10
	Frequency		14	24	26	14	44	39
Action	Donation request	2	3	7	1	0	2	15
	Campaign request	13	1	1	0	0	0	15
	Interaction request	2	1	6	2	2	0	13
	Event promotion	2	54	22	11	39	8	136
	Product sales	0	0	1	0	4	0	5
	Volunteer request	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Lobbying	0	0	4	0	2	1	7
	Join Community	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	Vote Request	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Video Watch	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
	Read News	0	3	0	0	2	3	8
	GiveAway Competition	0	0	2	0	0	2	4
	Attitude Change	0	4	2	0	9	8	23
	Product Creation	0	0	3	0	3	0	6
	Download Works	0	0	2	0	5	0	7
	Frequency		19	71	50	15	66	25

Figure 3. Coding results of LGBT social media accounts.

The data presented in the table indicates that the predominant content category was ‘Action’ (246), followed by ‘Community’ (161), and ‘Information’ (120). Within the ‘Information’ category, the most frequently produced subcategory was ‘Education’ (49), with Arus Pelangi and Yayasan Gaya Nusantara emerging as the organisations contributing the highest volume of content. In contrast, Kolektif Tanpa Nama prioritised the subcategory of ‘Opinion’.

Category	Sub-Category	Magdalen eid	Jakarta Feminist	Indonesia Feminist	Mubadala hid	SP Kinasih	Lawan Patriarki	Total
Information	Information	41	14	28	1	25	18	127
	Education	63	11	416	133	62	31	716
	Opinion	23	3	48	21	3	19	117
	Declaration	0	5	4	0	20	30	59
Frequency		127	33	496	155	110	98	1019
Community	Support	2	2	51	15	2	21	93
	Announcement	2	19	180	47	12	14	274
	Reply	5	1	7	2	0	12	27
	Response encouragement	20	10	28	9	0	13	80
	Celebration	11	9	27	2	16	16	81
	Recommendation	15	0	14	1	0	11	41
	Quote	12	1	21	17	0	39	90
	Sympathy	7	3	12	6	8	13	49
Frequency		74	45	340	99	38	139	735
Action	Donation request	0	18	30	1	7	9	65
	Campaign request	1	7	67	0	18	6	99
	Interaction request	16	5	72	12	2	15	122
	Event promotion	27	233	30	42	25	46	403
	Product sales	3	3	73	0	0	6	85
	Volunteer request	0	0	1	0	0	23	24
	Lobbying	0	28	0	0	1	23	52
	Join Community	0	2	3	0	2	10	17
	Vote Request	0	1	4	0	0	6	11
	Video Watch	3	5	70	13	1	10	102
	Read News	79	1	47	0	0	15	142
	GiveAway Competition	2	3	0	1	0	12	18
	Attitude Change	6	11	3	11	0	6	37
	Product Creation	0	1	22	0	0	19	42
Download Works	0	0	1	0	0	4	5	
Frequency		137	318	423	80	56	210	1224

Figure 4. Coding results of feminist social media accounts.

The high volume of educational content uploaded suggests that the LGBT organisations in this study prioritise education as a key focus. Indonesia, in fact, is a country with significant gender diversity. For instance, ethnographic research by Davies (2007) found that the Bugis people recognise five gender identities: makkunrai (B, women), oroane' (B, men), calalai, calabai, and bissu. However, it is undeniable that Indonesia also remains a predominantly heteronormative society (Bennett & Davies, 2015; Gayatri, 2016). Therefore, social media posts containing educational content serve as a powerful tool for raising awareness and dispelling myths about LGBTQ+ identities, rights, and struggles (Ciszek, 2017).

Educational posts often form the foundation for advocacy by providing followers with knowledge that enhances their understanding of social justice issues, particularly those related to gender, sexuality, and human rights. However, given the high level of societal resistance in Indonesia towards LGBT issues, NGOs advocating for LGBT rights recommend using an anti-violence framework to convey their message, as this approach tends to garner broader public support (Ridwan & Wu, 2018).

In the 'Community' category, the most frequently created subcategory of content was 'Celebration' (66), with Yayasan GaYa Nusantara producing the most content (44), while Cangkang Queer focused on 'Recommendations'. The frequent posting of 'Celebration' content suggests that the LGBT organisations in this study aim to create positive visibility. Celebrations of LGBTQ+ milestones, achievements, and identities are crucial for promoting positive visibility. These posts highlight the diversity within the LGBTQ+

community and often commemorate important events such as Pride, the celebration of gender diversity, or historical LGBTQ+ figures, offering inspiration and fostering a sense of belonging. Moreover, by emphasising celebrations, organisations strengthen their sense of community. Social media plays a significant role in fostering community development and engagement through dialogue and interaction (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Withaneachi & Nagaraj, 2021).

In the 'Action' category, the most frequently posted sub-category was 'Event Promotion' (136), with the organisation Kabar Sejuk producing the most content in this area (71), while PLUSH Yogyakarta focused on 'Campaign Requests', and Arus Pelangi concentrated on 'Lobbying'. The fact that LGBT organisations most frequently create content about 'event promotion' suggests they view promoting events as a key strategy for mobilising their followers. One concrete example of event promotion content from Kabar Sejuk includes posts about seminars discussing the intersection of religion and LGBT rights. Arus Pelangi regularly promote workshops on topics such as LGBT rights, mental health, and legal advocacy. Another example includes Yayasan GaYa Nusantara sharing posts about a queer film festival, providing details on how to attend screenings or participate in discussions about the films. Similarly, posts from organisations like Cangkang Queer often promote events centred around mental health and well-being, such as support group meetings or counselling sessions specifically for LGBT individuals.

Additionally, by consistently promoting events, these organisations ensure that their community remains active and engaged, thereby maintaining a dynamic public presence. Event promotion also enables organisations to attract new members and allies, drawing attention to their activities and ongoing advocacy efforts. Social media has the potential to enhance and streamline collective action by allowing individuals to coordinate and organise in a decentralised manner, free from hierarchical frameworks (Spier, 2011).

Additional findings from this study indicate that each organisation has a distinct content focus. Kabar Sejuk and PLUSH Yogyakarta often post informational content, while Yayasan GAYa Nusantara, Arus Pelangi and Cangkang Queer emphasise educational content. Kolektif Tanpa Nama stands out by posting more opinion-based content, indicating their focus on sharing critical views or perspectives. Organisations like Yayasan GAYa Nusantara and Cangkang Queer post more in the 'Community' category, such as celebrations and declaration. Meanwhile, Kabar Sejuk focuses more on event promotions, and Cangkang Queer excels in posting about attitude change.

Some organisations are notably lacking in certain sub-categories. For example, Kolektif Tanpa Nama rarely posts informational content, and PLUSH Yogyakarta rarely posts opinions or declaration. This shows that while all these communities focus on LGBT issues, their approaches to public communication vary greatly. These findings reveal how each LGBT community in Indonesia tailors their social media strategies to align with their specific goals and target audiences.

In addition to the key findings, an intriguing aspect of the data is that none of the organisations posted content related to 'vote requests', and only one organisation, Arus Pelangi, posted about 'lobbying' (with just four posts in total). The fact that none of these LGBT organisations posted content about 'vote requests' is not surprising. In countries like Indonesia, where both feminist and LGBTQ+ advocacy face significant societal and political resistance, direct political engagement such as 'vote requests' may be seen as

either ineffective or too risky. Organisations may avoid overt political messaging to prevent backlash or potential legal repercussions, especially in a heteronormative and conservative society where LGBT rights are not widely accepted.

The low number of posts related to lobbying (only by Arus Pelangi) highlights a similar trend in limited formal political advocacy. This could indicate either a strategic decision to focus on grassroots activism and community empowerment rather than institutional lobbying, or a reflection of challenges faced by these organisations in gaining access to policymakers and influencing legislation in a socio-political environment that might not be conducive to LGBT advocacy.

Another notable finding from the data is that only one organisation, Kabar Sejuk, posted content related to 'join community', with just three posts in this category. The minimal focus on 'join community' posts, where only one organisation actively promoted community membership, suggests that most LGBT organisations in the study may not prioritise expanding their member base through direct recruitment efforts on social media. This could reflect a strategy focused more on advocacy, education, and awareness rather than growing a formal membership or encouraging new followers to join the community in a structured way. The lack of 'join community' content points to a possible missed opportunity for building a stronger, more engaged community. Actively inviting individuals to join could help these organisations create a larger support network, foster deeper engagement, and mobilise more people in their advocacy efforts. It also highlights a gap in outreach strategies, where social media could be better leveraged to attract new members and offer ways for followers to contribute directly to the cause. This limited focus on 'join community' posts indicates that LGBT organisations may benefit from placing more emphasis on community-building and recruitment efforts. Engaging individuals with clear calls to action for joining the movement could strengthen their capacity to organise, advocate, and achieve long-term goals. Expanding the base of active members can also enhance the sustainability and reach of their advocacy work.

The overall findings from the data analysis reveal significant insights into the activities of feminist organisations on social media (see [Figure 4](#)). The most common content category was 'Action', (1224) followed by 'Information' (1019) and 'Community' (735). Notably, a significant portion of posts within the Information category focuses on Education, particularly from Indonesia Feminist and Mubadalahid, emphasising the importance of awareness and knowledge in feminist advocacy. The data aligns with the research conducted by Parahita (2019), which identified that the specific objectives of feminist activism on social media are diverse; however, their primary goals consistently centre around educating the public about sexuality, gender equality, and feminism, as well as fostering solidarity.

In the 'Community' category, the subcategory with the highest frequency of content produced is 'Announcement' (274), with Indonesia Feminist being the organisation that generates the most content in this area. Meanwhile, Lawan Patriarki primarily focuses on 'Quotes'. The emphasis on 'Announcement' content within the community category among feminist organisations underscores their commitment to transparency and active communication with their audience. Examples of announcements made by Indonesia Feminist include the organisation of events, such as campaigns and actions, collaborations and partnerships, as well as research findings and reports. The prevalence of announcements suggests that these feminist organisations prioritise immediate

engagement and responsiveness to current issues. This focus aligns with the broader objectives of feminist activism, where timely information and community mobilisation are critical for addressing systemic injustices and advancing gender equality. By strategically utilising announcements, these organisations not only inform their audience but also foster a vibrant participatory environment and create safe discussion spaces that encourages activism and community involvement (Parahita, 2019).

In the 'Action' category, the most frequently uploaded content by feminist organisations is 'Event Promotion', with Jakarta Feminist leading in this area. This trend can be attributed to the organisation's strategic focus on community engagement and activism. Events serve as critical platforms for mobilising support, fostering connections, and amplifying voices advocating for gender equality. For instance, Jakarta Feminist has organised significant events such as the Women's March Jakarta, which aligns with a global movement advocating for women's rights and social justice. This event not only raises awareness about pressing issues such as gender-based violence and reproductive rights but also galvanises community participation, demonstrating the organisation's effectiveness in promoting activism through event-driven initiatives and ultimately can drive social change (Cornet et al., 2017; Parahita, 2019).

Additionally, Jakarta Feminist conducts workshop series on gender issues that educate participants on topics ranging from sexual health to intersectionality. These workshops empower individuals to become advocates for change, enhancing the community's capacity for action. They also host film screenings and discussions that highlight feminist issues, fostering critical dialogue and awareness. Their social media campaigns also promote specific issues and engage the community, demonstrating the integration of online and offline activism. The actions undertaken by Jakarta Feminist stand in opposition to the concept of 'slacktivism', which refers to the gap between the awareness raised and the actions taken via social media. A pertinent example is the Kony 2012 video, which gained viral sensation yet failed to produce meaningful mobilisation or tangible action, illustrating the possible benefits and limitations of leveraging digital media in the context of social movements (Glenn, 2015). The transformative political potential of social media activism can only be fully actualised when it is complemented by coordinated efforts in offline activism (Fischer, 2016).

However, the analysis also uncovers low engagement in specific areas, such as Donation Requests and Volunteer Request. This suggests potential areas for improvement where these organisations could enhance their efforts to mobilise resources and community involvement. In fact, social media can serve as an effective tool for collecting donations, as the interactive features of social media strategies used by non-profit organisations enhance consumers' trust and satisfaction, which in turn affects their intention to donate (Feng, Du, & Ling, 2017).

Regarding 'Volunteer Request' content, feminist organisations may not frequently post such requests because their activities often depend on a core group of dedicated members rather than frequent, large-scale volunteer efforts. Volunteer opportunities may arise sporadically depending on specific needs, projects, or campaigns. Furthermore, volunteer recruitment may be more targeted and occur through private channels or direct outreach, as opposed to broad, public calls on social media. This also reflects the more intimate and issue-driven nature of feminist activism, where participation is based on strong alignment with cause-specific initiatives rather than generalised volunteering.

Another finding from the research is 'Join Community' content may not be frequently posted because many feminist organisations already operate with established, engaged networks. Rather than continuously seeking new members, these organisations might prioritise maintaining and mobilising their existing community. Additionally, joining feminist communities may occur through direct engagement at events or specific campaigns rather than through routine social media invitations. The more informal and organic nature of feminist organising could also mean that recruitment is conducted through offline activities, such as local meetings or events, rather than consistently being promoted online.

Finally, 'Lobbying' content is also less frequently shared because lobbying efforts tend to involve strategic, behind-the-scenes work that doesn't always require public involvement. Feminist organisations may engage in lobbying through closed-door discussions with policymakers, collaborations with other advocacy groups, or participation in formal legislative processes (Poerwandari, Munti, & Viemilawati, 2018). These activities may not always be suitable for mass public participation, which could explain why they are less visible on social media platforms. Moreover, lobbying is often a complex, long-term process, and its visibility might be reduced as organisations focus more on direct action campaigns or educational initiatives that have clearer, immediate results.

Based on the data regarding the multimedia strategies employed by various LGBT organisations, several conclusions and interesting findings can be identified. The majority of organisations, including Yayasan GAYa Nusantara and Arus Pelangi show the highest use of images as their primary content form. This reflects the effectiveness of visuals in capturing attention and conveying messages, as well as the importance of visual elements in Instagram, which can enhance audience engagement and ultimately foster societal change (Cornet et al., 2017). Kabar Sejuk stands out with the highest use of interactive content, indicating that the organisation strives to create greater engagement with its audience, encouraging active participation and dialogue.

Each organisation demonstrates different preferences for types of multimedia content (see Figure 5). For instance, Cangkang Queer and Kabar Sejuk focus more on using hashtags, while Arus Pelangi prioritises images. This suggests that organisations can choose strategies that best align with their audience and objectives. However, all organisations show a significant reduction in the use of audio and video content, indicating a preference for quicker and more digestible content. Despite their low usage, these media types have strong potential for conveying complex messages. Overall, the varied use of multimedia content demonstrates a strategic approach to reach a broader audience

Category	Sub-Category	PLUSH Yogyakarta	Kabar Sejuk	Arus Pelangi	Kolektif Tanpa Nama	Yayasan Gaya Nusantara	Cangkang Queer	Total
Multimedia Strategy	Graphic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Image	23	41	54	21	72	25	236
	Photo	9	82	23	17	58	24	213
	Video	7	18	5	9	3	8	50
	Audio	5	17	5	9	3	0	39
	Hashtag	40	78	50	18	33	68	287
	Emoticon	14	22	36	17	21	34	144
	Interactivity	10	89	20	10	37	20	186
Frequency		45	130	69	33	120	72	469

Figure 5. Coding results of multimedia strategies by LGBT organizations.

Category	Sub-Category	Magdaleneid	Jakarta Feminist	Indonesia Feminist	Mubadalahid	SP Kinasih	Lawan Patriarki	Total
Multimedia Strategy	Grafik	5	1	12	1	11	70	100
	Gambar	206	320	261	129	110	79	1105
	Foto	27	79	231	38	88	72	535
	Video	62	18	61	26	42	57	266
	Audio	53	14	60	24	37	65	253
	Hashtag	271	162	400	222	134	81	1270
	Emoticon	3	83	154	92	48	92	472
	Interaktivitas	142	26	103	40	13	60	384
Frequency		304	362	913	227	182	364	2352

Figure 6. Coding results of multimedia strategies by feminist organizations.

and create a positive impact within society. Images and hashtags serve as effective tools for capturing attention and promoting engagement, while interactivity is essential for building a more involved community. To enhance social impact and broaden message reach, organisations may need to consider integrating more audio-visual content into their communication strategies.

The multimedia strategies employed by feminist organisations reveal different approaches to engaging their audiences, highlighting distinct communication priorities (see Figure 6). Images are the most frequently used medium across several groups, such as Magdaleneid and Jakarta Feminist, suggesting that visuals are key for capturing attention and effectively conveying messages. Hashtags are also widely utilised, particularly by Indonesia Feminist, Mubadalahid, and Magdaleneid, indicating a strong emphasis on expanding reach and connecting with broader online movements.

The use of hashtags helps these organisations increase visibility and align with larger social conversations. Utilising a range of hashtags that resonate with various audiences is an effective approach to broaden the reach and influence of advocacy messages (Saxton, Niyirora, Guo, & Waters, 2015). Interestingly, graphics – useful for presenting data or complex ideas – are rarely employed, with some organisations like Jakarta Feminist and Mubadalahid using almost none. This suggests a preference for more relatable and community-focused content rather than technical presentations. Emoticons, heavily used by Mubadalahid and Lawan Patriarki, reflect a more informal and emotionally engaging communication style, likely aimed at building a personal connection with their audience. Videos, while powerful, are used less frequently, possibly due to higher production demands or a preference for simpler content formats like images and text. Overall, these patterns indicate that each organisation tailors its multimedia strategies to align with its specific communication goals, whether it be increasing visibility, fostering emotional connection, or sharing accessible content.

Content strategy feminist organization vs LGBT advocacy groups

The comparison of social media content strategies between LGBT and feminist organisations reveals that both prioritise informing their audiences. However, LGBT organisations tend to focus on celebration within the community category, while feminist organisations concentrate on announcements. This distinction highlights their differing strategic approaches and underlying goals.

Feminist organisations emphasise education to raise awareness about gender issues and mobilise their communities for advocacy, using announcements to keep members informed about actions and campaigns, thereby fostering active participation. In contrast, while LGBT organisations also aim to educate about LGBTQ+ issues, they do so through celebrations that promote pride and visibility. These celebrations serve not only as expressions of joy but also as political statements against discrimination.

Feminist organisations use announcements to promote events and garner support for social justice causes, while LGBT organisations focus on celebrating festivals and cultural expressions that affirm LGBTQ+ identities, showcasing the community's diversity and richness. Although both types of organisations value education, the contexts in which they apply it differ significantly.

The target audiences for these organisations have varying expectations: feminist audiences often seek informative content that encourages action, while LGBTQ+ audiences prefer uplifting and celebratory narratives that foster pride. This divergence shapes how organisations tailor their messages and engage with their followers. Additionally, the cultural and societal contexts in which these groups operate influence their focuses; feminist organisations prioritise advocacy due to ongoing gender inequalities, whereas LGBT organisations find strength in celebration as a form of resistance against marginalisation.

Overall, the contrast between feminist organisations that emphasise education, announcements, and event promotion and LGBT organisations that focus on education and celebration underscores their different strategic priorities and community-building approaches. Recognising these differences is essential for understanding how both movements engage with their communities and address their unique challenges.

The findings emphasise the need for both types of organisations to adopt a more balanced approach that integrates action-oriented, informational, and community-building content. By doing so, they can not only mobilise their supporters but also foster a sense of belonging within their communities, which is essential for sustaining long-term advocacy efforts.

3 *The Pyramid Model of social media-based advocacy*

The findings regarding the differing content strategies of LGBT and feminist organisations can be effectively analysed through the lens of the Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy. This model elucidates the various types of content utilised in advocacy campaigns by delineating three critical stages: outreach, maintaining engagement, and moving towards action.

Both LGBT and feminist organisations employ outreach strategies to raise awareness among their respective audiences. For feminist organisations, the emphasis on educational announcements aligns with the initial outreach phase of the Pyramid Model, where the primary objective is to inform the community about gender issues and promote advocacy efforts. By providing informative content, these organisations are actively engaging their audiences and establishing a foundation for ongoing interaction.

In the second stage of maintaining engagement, feminist organisations prioritise announcements to keep their community informed about campaigns and initiatives, fostering active participation. This aligns with their strategic focus on mobilisation, as

continuous communication is essential for sustaining the momentum of advocacy efforts. Conversely, LGBT organisations, while also focusing on education, use celebratory content as a means of engagement. This strategy not only reinforces community ties but also contributes to a positive environment where individuals feel empowered and visible.

Finally, the move towards action is manifested in both organisational types but in different ways. Feminist organisations leverage their announcements to mobilise supporters for social justice actions, while LGBT organisations use celebratory narratives to foster a sense of community and resistance, ultimately encouraging participants to take part in events such as pride parades and cultural festivals. The hierarchical nature of the Pyramid Model reflects how each organisation's content strategy builds upon previous stages. The increased focus on celebration among LGBT organisations, for instance, can be viewed as a culmination of successful outreach and engagement, allowing them to transition smoothly into mobilising supporters through events and cultural expressions.

Thus, understanding how both types of organisations navigate through these stages of advocacy highlights their unique approaches while underscoring the importance of adapting strategies to effectively engage their communities and respond to societal challenges. The Pyramid Model serves as a valuable framework for analysing these diverse content strategies and their implications for advocacy effectiveness.

Alongside the main findings, the article offers actionable insights¹⁵ and considerations for future studies. Future research should consider incorporating engagement metrics – such as likes, shares, and comments – to better assess the impact of different content types on audience behaviour. Furthermore, advocacy organisations in Indonesia are encouraged to adopt a more integrated content strategy that blends action, information, and community-oriented posts to foster broader and more sustained engagement. While this study focused on feminist and LGBT organisations, future comparative research could explore how other advocacy groups, such as those addressing on environmental or sustainable issue, disability rights, or religious tolerance, deploy content strategies on social media. Such comparisons could offer a richer understanding of digital advocacy across sectors in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The content strategies of feminist and LGBT organisations on Instagram reveal distinct approaches to audience engagement and advocacy. While both types prioritise informing their audiences, feminist organisations primarily use announcements to raise awareness and mobilise support for gender issues and social justice campaigns. In contrast, LGBT organisations emphasise celebratory content that promotes pride and visibility, aiming to affirm identities and strengthen community ties. The differing audience expectations – feminist followers seeking action-oriented content versus LGBTQ+ audiences favouring uplifting narratives – further shape these strategies. Contextual factors also play a role, with feminist organisations focusing on education due to ongoing gender inequalities and LGBT organisations leveraging celebrati⁶ as a form of resistance against marginalisation. Analysing these strategies through the Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy highlights how each organisation navigates the stages of outreach, engagement,

and action. Recommendations for enhancing content strategies suggest that feminist organisations could incorporate more celebratory elements, while LGBT organisations might benefit from additional informational content, thereby fostering greater engagement and advocacy impact.

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