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**Moderasi Beragama di Antara Generasi Milenial: Peluang,  
Kendala, Keberagaman, dan Upaya Penyelesaiannya**

***Religious Moderation Among the Millennial Generation:  
Opportunities, Challenges, Diversity, and Efforts for Resolution.***

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**Abstract**

The promotion campaign of religious moderation among the millennial generation faces a series of significant challenges. Evidenced by the realities on the ground, radicalism has taken deep roots. Government-sponsored moderation programs have lost their popularity in competition with appealingly presented radical movements aligned with current trends. In this endeavor, a qualitative approach employing the radical humanism paradigm is employed in the research to unearth the underlying issues that fortify radicalism, and to comprehend the intricacies surrounding the discourse on religious moderation. Through this research, several crucial findings have been unveiled. First, the moderation movement struggles to capture the attention and interest of millennials compared to opposing viewpoints. Second, the genealogical origins of moderation and radicalism remain unresolved, particularly in relation to the post-independence relationship between religion and the state. Third, the influence of transnational radicalism. Fourth, socio-political-economic factors such as poverty, state violence, legal injustices, political instability, sectarian issues, militarism, and others. And fifth, the sole remaining opportunity for the discourse on religious moderation lies within the pre-independence cultural roots, through bolstering cultural values, Islamic intellectual heritage, and economic initiatives for welfare. If this opportunity goes untapped, the risk of failure within the movement and discourse of religious moderation becomes increasingly evident along the journey.

**Keyword: Islam, Religious Moderation, Radicalism.**

**Abstrak**

Kampanye promosi moderasi beragama di kalangan milenial menghadapi serangkaian tantangan yang signifikan. Terlihat dari kenyataan lapangan bahwa fenomena radikalisme telah mengakar dengan kuat. Program-program moderasi yang disajikan oleh pemerintah kehilangan popularitasnya dalam persaingan dengan gerakan radikalisme yang diarahkan dengan cara yang menarik dan sesuai dengan tren saat ini. Dalam upaya ini, pendekatan kualitatif dengan paradigma radikal humanisme digunakan dalam penelitian untuk menggali akar permasalahan yang memperkuat radikalisme, serta untuk memahami kompleksitas yang menyertai wacana moderasi beragama. Melalui penelitian ini, beberapa temuan penting telah ditemukan. Pertama, gerakan moderasi mengalami kesulitan dalam menarik perhatian dan minat kalangan milenial jika dibandingkan dengan gerakan yang memiliki pandangan sebaliknya. Kedua, akar genealogi antara moderasi dan radikalisme yang belum terselesaikan, khususnya terkait dengan hubungan antara agama dan negara setelah masa kemerdekaan. Ketiga, pengaruh radikalisme yang bersifat transnasional. Keempat, faktor-faktor sosial-politik-ekonomi seperti kemiskinan, kekerasan negara, ketidakadilan hukum, instabilitas politik, isu sara, militerisme, dan lainnya. Dan yang kelima, satu-satunya peluang yang masih ada bagi wacana moderasi beragama adalah melalui akar kultural pra-kemerdekaan, dengan memperkuat nilai-nilai budaya, warisan intelektual Islam, dan gerakan ekonomi untuk kesejahteraan. Jika peluang ini tidak dimanfaatkan, risiko terjadinya kegagalan



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*dalam gerakan dan wacana moderasi beragama akan semakin nyata di tengah perjalanan.*

***Kata Kunci : Islam, Moderasi Beragama, Radikalisme.***

## INTRODUCTION

Based on BPS projections in 2019, almost half or around 48.62 percent of Indonesia's total population is in the age range of 14-35 years. In 2020, APJII in collaboration with the Indonesia Survey Center presents an even more surprising projection, namely around 62.4 percent of Indonesia's population in the same age group. This means significant Human Resources (HR) potential to embrace a better future for Indonesia, where the majority of Indonesia's population is of productive age and has near access to the internet. These include: background, problem formulation, objectives, theoretical studies and results of observations, developments or previous studies that are relevant to the discussion.

The same data also shows that in 2019-2020, around 196.71 million individuals out of the total 266.91 million population of Indonesia were connected to the internet, which ultimately means that 73.7% of Indonesia's population has become internet users. Connectivity is carried out through various devices, such as desktops (9.5%), laptops (19.7%), and gadgets (95.4%), with a proportion of around 19.5% of those who use the internet for 8 hours or more. The main reason behind internet use is for social media and communication, while other purposes include access to public services, online shopping, playing games, and seeking entertainment.

Being closely connected to the internet and social media platforms means the millennial generation is exposed to a lot of information, and without adequate filtering capabilities, this can have detrimental consequences. One of the negative effects affecting this generation is its susceptibility to the adoption of radically oriented transnational doctrines.

In fact, Islamic fundamentalist movements that emerged in the 21st century in Asia and the Middle East have understood the effectiveness of the internet as a means of spreading the ideology they adhere to. According to John L. Esposito, the spread of political ideas, issues of freedom of expression, and democracy have experienced a process of radicalization with great impact, which was significantly triggered by the influence of internet media (Espino, 2008). In other words, issues related to fundamentalism and potentially referring to radicalism in the 21st century are closely related to the massive use of the internet and social media.

Apart from that, we have also recognized too late that through the internet, the spread of radicalism has experienced quite extensive development and has taken root in the thinking of the millennial generation, especially among students. The internet has a very important role in forming elements of radicalism among young people. This is reinforced by findings from the Center for Cultural Studies and Social Change at Muhammadiyah University, which indicate that sites that share false and hateful information dominate more than sites managed by Muhammadiyah and NU. The uncertainty is further strengthened by information provided by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), which states that around 52% of terrorist inmates in correctional institutions are young people. Therefore, it is not surprising that the millennial generation is a group that is vulnerable to exposure to radicalism. In reality, the value of religious moderation which should be upheld in a plural society like Indonesia is increasingly being eroded by transnational Islamic ideology. This ideology has two interconnected sides, namely the affirmation of symbols and identity on the one hand, while on the other hand, it also provides criticism of the state, nation and Islamic traditions in Indonesia (Inayatillah, 2021).

Research conducted by the Setara Research Institute in 2019 revealed that the religious views held by students from various state universities have been influenced by fundamental groups such as Hizbut Tahrir, as well as various forms of transformation such as the tarbiyah movement. Some of the universities studied include the University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB), and Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta. The results of this research identify three patterns of dominant views that are clearly inconsistent with the spirit of moderation. First, related to the demands of implementing Islamic teachings and values in social life. Second, the position of Islam is considered to be always under threat and must be maintained through efforts for Islamic political unity. This view emphasizes that Islam can only achieve greatness if Muslims are united in a government and political structure based on the Islamic political system. Third, they believe that Islam has been "conquered" by the West through domination of thought and culture, which in turn has an impact on exclusive attitudes, suspicion, antipathy, and reduced interaction with the outside world (Suharto, 2019).

The government is aware of the long-term risks posed by fundamentalism and radical teachings. Therefore, in Presidential Regulation Number 18 of 2020 concerning the 2020-2024 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN), religious moderation is recognized as a strategic issue. However, the various strategies and efforts that have been carried out have not shown satisfactory results. On the one hand, the issue of religious moderation can sometimes be mired in sectarianism from certain groups, while on the other hand, this issue becomes a kind of barrier to government criticism of critical discourses related to injustice and socio-economic inequality.

The unresolved issue of religious moderation is also further complicated by limited and shallow interpretations of the existing situation. Although millennials want a moderate approach, they are often placed in a passive position. In fact, the reality of the millennial generation's life is full of high dynamics and complexity. They are in a much broader environment than previous generations have ever faced. They are also exposed to an abundance of information that, if not filtered properly, has the potential to have serious consequences.

This article aims to open a broader and more critical view of the discourse on religious moderation among the millennial generation. Therefore, first an in-depth reading and analysis will be carried out regarding problems related to religious moderation among the millennial generation, including the opportunities, challenges and complexities that exist. Second, this article will propose solutions that are rooted at the root of the problem, as well as underscoring the important role of Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) through the implementation of the tertiary education tridharma program.

Reading opportunities is very important in order to understand the vision of religious moderation efforts in shaping the development of the millennial generation. An approach to religious moderation without having a clear vision can seem like an attempt to impose a single view. Therefore, exploring opportunities is very important to identify the goals to be achieved in efforts to moderate religion among the millennial generation.

Even though it has its own complexities, religious moderation basically has significant opportunities to develop among the millennial generation. A moderate approach to religion can open the door for this generation to achieve higher creative potential. A

moderate attitude allows them to establish relationships and interact with various entities outside their environment, so that opportunities for personal growth become broader.

Unfortunately, many young people face a ruined future because they chose the wrong path. They are trapped in radical and exclusive views, resulting in a lack of personal development and missed opportunities to achieve a prosperous and peaceful life. Millennial generations who are in this condition will only be a burden on society in the future, perhaps in the next ten, twenty or thirty years.

It is also important to identify the challenges faced. In presenting discourse on moderation, we need to recognize the obstacles that may arise and the obstacles that will be faced in the field. This is important so that there is preparation, awareness and vigilance for stakeholders that efforts to socialize religious moderation may face dead ends or difficulties.

At this time, efforts to promote religious moderation have been made too late. The younger generation has become accustomed to extreme and radical views. Awareness of the delay in this discourse, as well as the difficulty of facing the reality that extremism and radicalism have been embedded in the thinking of the millennial generation, encourages stakeholders and all of us to introspect. By recognizing this challenge, the steps taken to promote religious moderation among the millennial generation can be more appropriate.

Apart from that, in reading the complexity of this problem, the aim is to understand the paradoxes that arise in this situation. For example, on the one hand, the government is proposing a discourse of religious moderation, but on the other hand, this may also be a populist political project, with the aim of strengthening the identity of certain groups. Another example is when religious moderation encourages acceptance of traditions, but not all traditions are in accordance with the religious values held by Indonesian society. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the plurality of issues, religious understandings, and the limitations of values contained in the tradition as a whole. This is important so that strengthening the religious dimension does not ignore the traditional dimension, and vice versa.

From a social perspective, everything cannot be reduced to two absolute choices, black and white. The concept of religious moderation has different interpretations for each individual, as well as extremism and radicalism have unique levels. Having an awareness of variations in understanding and levels of truth can help make moderation efforts more appropriate to individual contexts and individuals.

Furthermore, a problem-based approach will show how the government, community leaders, ulama, academics, intellectuals and society as a whole must work together to build a moderate interpretive discourse in religion and educate the public about it. It is hoped that collaboration from all parties can realize religious moderation in the views, values and actions of all Indonesian society. In this section, the role of Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) in spreading, socializing and implementing the principles of religious moderation will also be explained. The offer proposed by PTKI could be a comprehensive approach by accommodating various root problems, starting from the reproduction of religious understanding, discourse, socialization, to social and economic assistance.

## **WRITING METHOD**

The method used in this study is a qualitative method, which involves criticism of a

particular paradigm, namely the religious moderation paradigm. In more detail, this research adopts a radical humanism paradigm approach, which views that change can be achieved through deeper awareness and understanding. The radical humanism paradigm is a combination of radical elements and human subjectivity. More inclined towards practical criticism and analysis, and opposed to positivistic and ideological approaches. In some ways, this paradigm may serve as an alternative or critique of the assumptions described by the functional paradigm.

The radical humanism paradigm is defined by its attention to the development of the sociology of change which involves a subjective point of view. This approach in social science has many similarities with the interpretive paradigm, where it views the social world from a more nominalistic point of view, opposing positivism, prioritizing voluntary elements and qualitative descriptions. As a result, the primary focus is the ability to critically analyze phenomena that are considered well-established, such as religious moderation. When applied to the millennial generation, there is one fundamental concept that is the basis of this entire paradigm, namely that human consciousness is influenced by ideological structures that influence its interactions, and this creates a cognitive link between itself and true consciousness. This linkage is known as 'alienation' or 'false consciousness', which hinders or inhibits the attainment of true consciousness. The main focus here is to free humans from regulatory restrictions and activate criticism of the status quo. In this context, all established norms are ignored in order to reveal the full human potential (Burrell & Morgan, 2005).

In the context of religious moderation, this approach will be reviewed critically while ignoring existing conditions. Policies and proposals related to religious moderation originating from the government will also be assessed critically to identify weaknesses in the discourse. In this way, it is hoped that this research will contribute to strengthening the idea and implementation of religious moderation, which is one of the main initiatives of the government.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Religious Moderation Among the Millennial Generation**

In the cultural aspect, religious moderation is recognized as a religious spirit and model that has developed over the centuries in the archipelago. The society in the archipelago, which is diverse but very religious, has become an example for developing tolerant and inclusive attitudes. Religious values, principles and practices in the archipelago are rooted in the concept of *tasamuh* (tolerance) in religion, avoiding left extremism (radical fundamentalism) and right extremism (secular liberal).

Islamic culture formed in the Islamic boarding school environment, for example, has an adaptive, tolerant and inclusive approach to thinking. However, currently this view is faced with challenges and threats from the emergence of various new ideologies and interpretations of religion. These new views often tend towards intolerance, extremism and radicalism. Several groups in Islam that tend to be radical and militant have begun to fight back by fighting for the implementation of Islamic law (*sharia*) and the establishment of a state based on Islamic principles. Some of these groups include Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Laskar Jihad (LJ), Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), and Jama'ah Islamiyah (Muhtarom, 2020).

Based on Quraish Shihab's view, a moderate attitude is defined as a position in the middle, but still involved in dynamic interactions between the two opposing parties. Moderation does not only mean staying in the middle, but also playing an active role in maintaining a balance between opposing points of view, so it requires patience and perseverance to deal with it. Apart from that, a moderate attitude also requires adequate knowledge and understanding, so that a person is not trapped in one pole of view. Furthermore, what is more important is to bring both parties on the sides closer to the middle, with the aim of achieving justice and goodness which are essential elements in realizing the concept of moderation.

If we refer to the statement of Quraish Shihab which has been mentioned, it can be explained that religious moderation is not a static position, but has a dynamic and active nature. A person who follows a moderate attitude in his religious practice seeks to understand and embrace both points of view, without simply abandoning them. Moderation also represents a synthesis of two opposing premises, and in a religious context, is a religious model that is in harmony with the spirit, teachings and values of Islam.

The definition of religious moderation in the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education Number 897 of 2021 concerning Technical Instructions for Religious Moderation Houses states that religious moderation is religious views, attitudes and practices carried out in shared life, by embodying the essence of religious teachings that maintain human dignity and build shared prosperity. . This approach is based on the principles of justice, balance and conformity with the constitution as the basis for national agreements (Pendis, 2021).

Religious moderation is also related to religious paradigms, attitudes and behavior that are based on the spirit of maqasid sharia, which aims to protect human dignity and collective prosperity. The principles emphasized are justice, balance and conformity with the constitution. In this context, religious moderation is seen as an extension of the concept of maqasid shari'ah. As explained by Jaser Auda as explained by Zaprulkhan, the concept of maqasid shari'ah is expanded in terms of hifz al din, which refers to respect for the freedom to embrace religion and worship according to one's beliefs. This concept is the basis for harmony in a healthy and harmonious religious life, because freedom of belief without coercion is one of the fundamental principles in Islamic teachings (Zaprulkhan, 2020).

The spirit of maqasid shari'ah can also be applied through strengthening and internalizing religious understanding. Maqasid syari'ah is a philosophical and paradigmatic basis for the discourse on religious moderation used in Indonesia and elsewhere. This is due to its broad scope, dynamism, and appropriate dimensions in achieving goodness in this world and the hereafter. Diversity in coverage, dynamism and appropriate points of view also have relevance in dealing with the complexity of radicalism and religious extremism.

The government has also established several indicators of religious moderation, such as commitment to the nation, tolerance, rejection of violence, and acceptance of traditions. Commitment to the nation is a consequence of living in a national and state society, where every Indonesian citizen is expected to accept state principles based on Pancasila, the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as regulations derived from it. Acceptance of Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is considered an integral part of the religious attitude itself (Pendis, 2021).

Tolerance, in this case, has several key indicators, including the spirit of respecting differences, including differences in beliefs, views and opinions. In the context of beliefs, tolerance means providing space for other individuals to have their own beliefs and to express those beliefs. In terms of perspective, tolerance must reflect the principle of equality, where as Indonesian citizens, we are considered equal socially and legally. There is no favoritism by the state towards one particular religion over another. Likewise, citizens should not feel more special or consider other citizens as second class. Every citizen has the same rights to equality and prosperity, as guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution. In terms of views and readiness to work together, every citizen has the right to contribute to Indonesia's development in the same way, such as participating in general elections and expressing aspirations. This principle is in line with the spirit of mutual cooperation which is the basic value of the Indonesian nation, where religious communities are expected to work together in national development efforts. This can be achieved when the principles of equality and equality have been instilled among all citizens.

All values that are indicators of religious moderation are closely related to the challenges faced by Indonesia, such as the national issue which can give rise to political radicalism, the issue of tolerance which can give rise to theological radicalism, the issue of non-violence which can give rise to humanitarian radicalism, and the issue of acceptance of existing traditions. can give rise to radicalism, fundamentalism and puritanism. These issues have an impact on national stability, disrupt harmony between various groups in society, strengthen identity sentiments, and can result in political, economic, social and security instability.

Acts of mass violence, terrorism and media manipulation associated with religious radicalism have reached alarming levels. Individuals are easily provoked into taking action against the state and rejecting the principles of the nation state. Society is also vulnerable to the spread of fake news (hoaxes) related to religious issues and political manipulation. Therefore, a thorough and in-depth analysis is needed to find the right solutions and alternatives to face this challenge.

Therefore, strengthening religious moderation among the millennial generation needs to be based on an understanding of existing opportunities, challenges and complexities. This opportunity includes the potential that the millennial generation has as agents of change to advance the spirit of religious moderation in the future. However, there are challenges that must be overcome, especially when the current of radicalization becomes more dominant than the current of moderation itself. Strengthening religious moderation must also take into account political factors that have deep historical roots in Islamic culture in Indonesia, as well as the transformation from local movements to global fundamentalism that is spread through the internet.

Apart from that, complexity is also an important factor, especially in relation to the potential for radicalism in various religions and beliefs. A single truth claim held by several groups can hinder the socialization of religious moderation. Therefore, reinterpreting religious texts to accommodate the global context is very important.

The government has identified four important indicators in strengthening religious moderation, namely commitment to nationality, tolerance, rejection of violence, and acceptance of tradition. These four indicators are the basis for efforts to strengthen religious moderation among the millennial generation.



### **Commitment to Nationality**

One sign of efforts to strengthen religious moderation in Indonesia involves a commitment to nationality. The emphasis on national commitment in the context of religious moderation in Indonesia aims to achieve national stability and sustainability in line with the spirit of maqasid sharia, which aims to achieve public benefit.

Millennials have the opportunity to be at the forefront in maintaining national commitment from potential political and ideological disturbances, both from within and outside the country. They can be the initiators of changes in the paradigm and definition of national commitment, so that they are not rigid, pro-government, and reject criticism.

However, there are challenges faced regarding the millennial perception that Islam and the nation state are two separate things. Some of them have been influenced by the view that the nation state model is not a model that is in accordance with Islamic principles. There are those who see injustice and inequality in the system and find "alternatives" that may not be based on rationality or facts. For example, when the younger generation witnesses weaknesses in the democratic climate and the existence of corrupt leaders, they tend to look for alternative "caliphates" that are proposed from a theological point of view, even though they have not been tested in the context of actual democracy.

Apart from that, there are complexities that must be faced related to the understanding that nation and nationality are natural and dynamic processes. A polemic sparked in this context. The request for commitment to nationality is often not in line with the corrupt and hedonistic behavior often exhibited by political elites (Bustamam Ahmad, 2019). There is a view that national commitment has become something rigid and overly supervised by the government, so that instead of respecting it, the millennial generation tends to view that the discourse regarding dynamic national commitment conveyed by the government is just an attempt to maintain power and stifle criticism.

### **Tolerance**

The millennial generation has great potential to become initiators in promoting tolerance in various situations and contexts, especially in expressing personal views, defending religious freedom, and implementing their beliefs. The lives of the millennial generation are intertwined in the era of globalization, where interaction with individuals from various cultures and beliefs, both directly and indirectly, has become unavoidable. This gives the millennial generation the opportunity to work together, compete, and create progress with individuals from various parts of the world with diverse backgrounds (Ilyas, Ismail, Abdullah, & Zulfidar, 2020).

From one aspect, an inclusive and open attitude is very important. However, from another angle, an exclusive attitude will only cause stagnation and hinder the development of the millennial generation, reducing their opportunities to develop and collaborate more widely in self-development and cooperation.

The young generation who shows tolerance has great potential in advancing the nation through cross-ethnic and religious collaboration, encouraging development progress.

Tolerance is actually an important value in the construction of harmony in Islam. Tolerance essentially includes the willingness of all parties to understand and acknowledge

each other (Inayatillah, 2021).

But unfortunately, challenges arise in the form of radicalization triggered by the influence of mass media. A number of millennial generations are attracted to preaching that is full of incitement to hatred, which results in the erroneous view that the level of faith is measured by the extent of hatred towards differences. Radical preaching has become popular among millennials because it helps shape and strengthen their identity (existence), so that they feel proud to show their religious identity and voice hatred towards those who are different.

Complexity arises when there is a theological discourse about religious truth, which is not fully understood by the millennial generation. Some of them believe that the increase in religious symbols, intolerance and expressions of hatred towards other groups are an integral part of religious teachings.

One of the biggest complexities in the issue of tolerance is the lack of deep understanding of religious teachings. In an extreme interpretation, tolerance is defined as sacrifice to religious beliefs. Expressions of hatred and intolerance are considered to be part of representing Islam as a whole.

Currently, we are facing a situation where radical da'wah is more intense in targeting the millennial generation with attractive messages and propaganda. However, the preaching of tolerance proclaimed by the mainstream of Islam in Indonesia has not been fully able to present an attractive model of preaching. There is a tendency for a passive attitude from the Islamic mainstream in facing the dangers and potential of radicalism among their own millennial circles.

### **Rejection of Violence**

The millennial generation has the potential to be a pioneer in opposing all forms of violence, including cognitive, emotional and physical violence. Interaction between various ethnic and religious groups can stimulate the adoption of a humanist paradigm and respect for human rights (Bustamam Ahmad, 2019). The millennial generation was born in a modern era where human values are an important requirement for progress and sustainability. However, challenges arise when some millennials have a wrong understanding of religious concepts. For example, in interpreting jihad, there is an interpretation that causes violent actions and a perception that these actions are a form of fighting crime. The cultivation of an understanding that encourages violence produces the image that religion can only be defended with force and violence. Meanwhile, in reality, religion was born with a spirit of grace and preaching that prioritizes the values of grace for all of nature.

This attitude and understanding cannot be separated from social, political and economic conditions. Injustice, economic inequality, and weaknesses in the legal system are believed to contribute to dissatisfaction among millennials. These factors, along with political and economic dynamics, can exacerbate identity issues that ultimately encourage acts of violence. The millennial generation is easily influenced and directed by these issues, so they can be manipulated by provoking emotions through injustice and economic inequality.

The practices of violence, bullying, theft and illegal acts carried out by several groups, although considered an effort to uphold morality (*nahi munkar*), often have ulterior

motives, especially in the political and economic realms. Sentiments of economic injustice, competition for resources, and the aggressiveness of capitalism can be the driving force behind such actions.

Violence initiated by radical religious organizations against individuals who are deemed to be violating sharia principles and degrading religion, appears to be followed by a number of individuals from the millennial generation. These people tend to seek self-identity, try to build an existence, and achieve meaning in life, but unfortunately they choose the path of violence as a means of achieving these goals. However, it is important to remember that violence is an act that is contrary to the spirit of religion which prioritizes the values of compassion and humanity (*rahmatan lil alamin*).

Yusuf Al-Qardhawi identified several characteristics of radical groups, including first, the claim that only they hold a single truth and consider different views to be heretical. Second, they adopt strict practices in worship, where *sunnah* things are considered obligatory and *makruh* things are considered *haram*. Third, most of them are too excessive in their pursuit of religious life, which results in their preaching activities not recognizing the gradations and stages (the consequences of this attitude often manifest in the form of terrorism and suicides committed for religious reasons). Fourth, they appear impolite in dealing and interacting and show excessive emotion in preaching. Fifth, they tend to be skeptical and only focus on the negative aspects of groups they consider to be opponents. Sixth, have a tendency to easily declare other people as infidels because of differences in views (Suharto, 2019).

Islam never promotes majority and minority politics. Islam teaches that even the smallest groups should be treated with the same attention and equality as larger groups. As stated in the hadith of the Prophet narrated by Abu Daud, anyone who oppresses or humiliates *mu'ahad* (minorities) and gives them a burden that exceeds their abilities will be an opponent of the Prophet on the Day of Judgment. In this case, the Prophet firmly showed his support for all groups, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion and ideology/belief (Inayatillah, 2021).

Franz Magnis Suseno believes that human dignity comes from God's gift. In Pancasila, the first principle regarding belief in one and only God has a close relationship with the next principle, namely just and civilized humanity. It is difficult for an individual to claim to have a relationship with God if his behavior is unfair and uncivilized. On the contrary, Just and Civilized Humanity must be reflected in real actions that reflect recognition of the Almighty Godhead (Suseno, 2015).

The value of *rahmatan lil alamin* must be a principle that applies in all religions. Religion should be lived as a source of compassion for all those involved with it. By strengthening divine and human values, the potential for violence in a religious context can be avoided. Even though religion has the potential to cause violence, the main essence of religious teachings is peace and respect for human rights.

In an effort to prevent violence in religious contexts, it is important for individuals to deepen their religious knowledge. With a deep understanding of religion, individuals can develop tolerant views and avoid radical attitudes.

### **Acceptance of Tradition**

The younger generation has the opportunity to play a role in developing traditions

with the spirit of "Maintaining positive past treasures and combining them with better present treasures." This means that accepting tradition does not mean rejecting innovation, but rather prioritizing the preservation of wisdom values as the nation's cultural heritage. The younger generation can develop positive attitudes and views towards tradition, so that this view can become a shared view in national and state life.

However, currently there is a war of ideas that intensely emphasizes the behavior of the Salaf as righteous and opposes tradition. The memes circulating are also part of the propaganda for rejecting tradition. In fact, there is propaganda such as memes about klepton (a type of food) which is said to be not part of Islam. The process of Arabization which is considered Islamization sometimes causes a blurring of religious substance and cultural aspects. The impact is that the existence of cultural treasures, traditions and local identities which have high value are threatened.

The millennial generation who does not properly understand tradition as social capital and as an effort to maintain national identity is at risk of being trapped in attitudes of radicalism and violence. Therefore, it is important to prioritize a good understanding of traditions as a means of building social and cultural resilience in society.

Rejection of developing traditions has become a very widespread phenomenon. Propaganda which is spread with high intensity through various social media channels, with a systematic, creative and modern approach, has an influence on the younger generation. There is a significant delay in anticipating this, especially when the millennial generation becomes vulnerable to radical ideologies that reject tradition.

Islam should not be considered as an opponent of previous religious teachings, but rather as a continuation and shelter of the good values of previous generations. Islam also does not conflict with universal human rights, because the principles of freedom and human rights are an inherent part of Islamic teachings. Apart from that, Islam does not have to be contrary to local treasures and values, because the principle of universality in Islam can be realized and enforced through the unique traditions and characteristics of each region.

### **Solution Offer**

Radical and extreme attitudes in the context of religion among the millennial generation emerge as a result of various factors. Although social media and the internet are considered to play a role in the spread of radicalism, other factors also contribute, and this influence easily penetrates the minds of millennials. Therefore, the proposed solutions are not only limited to monitoring social media and the internet, such as controlling user behavior or blocking radical sites.

The first factor is the potential for radicalism that exists in every religion. Every religion has a subjective view of truth. However, these various views of subjective truth are often mixed with objective issues, triggering conflicting truth claims. The government, as a policy maker, needs to take a fair position in dealing with polemics regarding religious truth claims. The government must be an example in promoting freedom of religion and belief, while society should be the main driver in the movement for tolerance and mutual respect for religious beliefs.

The second factor is the historical roots of radicalism, which originate from the history of state formation. The ongoing discussion regarding the form of the state has given rise to generations who support the idea of an Islamic state and stimulate such discussion

in the public sphere. Some rebellions, such as DI/TII, are closely related to the ambition to make Indonesia a state based on religion. The lack of adequate handling of the rebellion has formed a culture of sympathy in the rebel base areas, potentially creating a new form of radicalism.

The solution to this second problem must be cognitive and critical. Ulama, academics and intellectuals need to develop moderate discourse in religious interpretation. There must be an in-depth study of the relationship between religion and the state. In fact, the Indonesian state is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which accommodates good religious values. Therefore, this foundation does not conflict with religious teachings. The founders of the nation preferred to call Indonesia "Darussalam" (Home of Peace) which has a broader scope than "Darul Islam" (Home of Islam).

The following three things influence the emergence of radical attitudes among the millennial generation. First, there is a delay in handling cases of radicalism. When several students joined Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia several years ago, we realized that they had been involved in this affiliation for years. On the other hand, efforts to promote religious moderation have only become part of the state's strategic project in the last 10 years or so. If not handled with creativity, these delays may not have a significant impact. Millennial generations who are exposed to radicalism tend to have closed minds to different views. Reaching their minds is a big challenge. Therefore, ulama, academics, intellectuals and society need to work hard in socializing a moderate model of religion while providing positive role models. The aim is so that the minds and hearts of the millennial generation who have been exposed to radicalism can reopen towards a path of moderation and balance in religion.

The fourth factor is the problem of injustice, economic inequality and poverty. The recruitment and indoctrination influence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia often begins by highlighting injustice, economic inequality and oppression by the state. Narratives about injustice against Muslims, corruption among leaders, and the dominance of non-Muslims in ownership of the means of production create a significant impact in influencing the perceptions of the millennial generation. While they aspire to a bright future, they also feel the stress of a life full of uncertainty. Therefore, the state and related parties need to initiate strategic projects based on economic recovery and community welfare. Radicalism in Indonesia on a large scale is closely related to issues of poverty and economic inequality.

Apart from the factors above, there are various other factors that play a role in strengthening the spread of radicalism in Indonesia. Therefore, it is hoped that ulama, intellectuals and academics can work together to develop moderate religious interpretations, while trying to develop recommendations for strategic steps to improve economic conditions and social welfare.

## **CONCLUSION**

The conclusion of this research is, In the cultural realm, the essence of religious moderation has long been implemented by Indonesian society. However, there appears to be a trend of strengthening and radicalizing religion which is disrupting this spirit of moderation. This situation could potentially trigger polarization and be detrimental to Indonesian human development in all aspects (social, political and economic). Therefore, efforts to reconstruct and restore the spirit of moderation are a joint task between the

government and society.

In 2018 and 2020, surveys from various institutions showed that half of Indonesia's population was in the age range of 14 to 35 years. This indicates that Indonesia has an excess of young people who have the potential to make a significant contribution to future development, in the next 10, 20, to 30 years. However, the challenge that arises is that the majority of this young generation is exposed to religious indoctrination and radicalism, which is influenced by information from the internet and social media. This has the potential to threaten the spirit of unity and tolerance in the next few years.

There are four indicators of religious moderation recognized by the Government, namely commitment to nationality, tolerance, rejection of violence, and acceptance of tradition. These indicators were chosen based on the observation that extreme actions in religion often stem from these aspects. Issues of radicalism are generally related to rejection of the state, intolerance due to truth claims, the use of violence in the name of jihad and upholding the truth, and rejection of local traditions.

In fact, changing thought patterns resulting from indoctrination is difficult unless the subject in question is willing to open his mind. Without the right approach, deradicalization efforts have the potential to give rise to new forms of radicalism. A frontal approach in dealing with the issue of radicalism risks producing a broader and deeper radical movement. If the younger generation is not given an understanding of religious moderation, the risk of division and internal conflict will increase, and this of course cannot be ignored.

For this reason, there is a need for a comprehensive view of the factors related to radicalism. This article covers at least four aspects related to radicalism that need attention in efforts to promote religious moderation. First, the potential for radicalism that exists in every religion. Second, the historical polemic between religion and the state. Third, delays in responding to transnational radical movements. And fourth, the issue of injustice and economic inequality. Synergy is needed between ulama, intellectuals, academics, community leaders, business actors and the community, as well as government support in efforts to voice comprehensive religious moderation and oppose radicalism, especially among the millennial generation.

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