THE RADICALISM OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN INDONESIA THE RELIGIOUS PORTRAITS OF ISLAMIC SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract. Youth, radicalism, and intolerance are serious problems that continue to develop and become a discourse in Indonesia and other countries, including the Middle East. In recent years, the emergence of symptoms of radicalism and intolerance among young people has increased. The tendency to increase the interest of Muslim youth to join organizations or religious groups that are intolerant also contributes to the significant increase in the symptoms of radicalism. Symptoms that appear make them have an intolerant and extremist attitude that leads to violence. Data from the research results and deepening of the BNPT strengthen this phenomenon. In Indonesia, some of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism are still young. They were about 23-27 years old with a lack of religious understanding. Even the movement mode of radical groups targeting young people is mainly concentrated in educational institutions at the junior high school and senior high school levels, even at the university level, such as Islamic spiritual youth group (*Rohis*). among students. Various kinds of religious upheaval are often related to social change and the things that accompany it, including social unrest, mobility, and conflict. The theme of religious radicalism is undoubtedly not new. However, the author assumed that the composition of radicalism remains essential, and needs to be developed continuously by all generations. The study written in this paper will explore the phenomenon of young people and the behavior of radicalism and intolerance in educational institutions such as *Rohis* (Intelorance in the Rohis literature) and society in general.

Keywords: intolerance; young people; radicalism

Abstrak. *Pemuda, radikalisme, dan intoleransi adalah masalah serius yang hingga kini terus berkembang dan menjadi diskursus di Indonesia dan negara-negara lain termasuk di Timur Tengah. Fenomena munculnya gejala radikalisme dan intoleransi di kalangan kaum muda dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini meningkat. Kecenderungan peningkatan minat kaum muda Islam bergabung dalam organisasi-organisasi atau kelompok-kelompok keagamaan yang terindikasikan intoleran turut mensuplai besarnya peningkatan gejala radikalisme. Gejala yang muncul menjadikan mereka memiliki sikap intoleran dan ekstrimis yang mengarah pada tindakan kekerasan. Data dari hasil penelitian dan pendalaman BNPT memperkuat fenomena tersebut, dewasa ini di negara Indonesia sebagian pelaku aksi terorisme diketahui berusia muda, berada di rentang usia kisaran 23-27 tahun dengan pemahaman keagamaan yang rendah. Bahkan modus pergerakan kelompok radikal dengan sasaran kaum muda banyak terkonsentrasi di lembaga-lembaga pendidikan tingkat Sekolah Menengah Pertama maupun Sekolah Mengah Atas bahkan sampai ke tingkat perguruan tinggi seperti Rohis, misalnya berdasarkan hasil survei Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP) menunjukan adanya faham konservatisme keagamaan di kalangan Siswa. Berbagai macam pergolakan keagamaan pun sering dijumpai berkaitan dengan perubahan sosial dengan hal-hal yang menyertainya, termasuk di dalamnya keresahan sosial, mobilitas, dan pertikaian. Tema radikalisme paham keagamaan tentu bukan merupakan tema baru, namun demikian penulis berasumsi bahwa tema radikalisme tetap penting dan perlu dikembangkan secara terus-menerus oleh banyak orang atau penulis dari semua generasi. Pada pengkajian yang ditulis dalam makalah ini akan mengeksplor fenomena kaum muda serta perilaku radikalisme dan intoleransi di Lembaga Pendidikan seperti Rohis (Inteloransi dalam literatur Rohis) dan di masyarakat secara umum.*

Kata Kunci: *intoleransi; kaum muda; radikalisme*

Introduction

Indonesia is a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic country. This is a mandate that cannot be denied. An observer on Indonesian Islam, Robert Hefner, for example, is so appreciative of Islam that it is often said to be too "praiseful of Indonesian Islam". But it may be true, because Indonesian Islam is different from Arab Islam and Islam in African countries and the Sahara peninsula. Indonesian Islam has its own culture and characteristics compared to Islam in other places. B Talking about the theme of religious radicalism is undoubtedly not new because it has been discussed a lot before. Much has been written about this theme. However, the theme of radicalism remains essential and needs to be developed continuously by many writers from all generations. (Qodir, 2014 :1)

The issue of radicalism was revealed from Francis's statement, a Pope's, in 2015. He stated that "Violence and hatred in the name of God is a completely unjustified action" (Kompas, 2015). The Pope's statement was made during a visit to the African continent to help resolve the conflict between Muslims and Christians. Pope Francis sincerely hopes for young people to continue the life of his nation. In the hands of these young people, a nation will progress and develop, even though its elites are full of power and wealth.

The acts of radicalism in the Middle East, Africa, and several European countries such as France, Turkey, and Ireland are conflicts based on differences in religion and community beliefs. As academics, we hope this does not hit Indonesia. Since any dispute that occurs in a community will impact the safety of life and significant material losses. One solution is religious people must avoid being arrogant, oppressive, twisted and selfish. As a result, many consider others unbelievers heretics and must be exterminated.

Religious radicalism and terrorism are two things that cannot be equated. Although the relationship between the two cannot be ignored, both are interrelated. Radicalism is more related to the attitude model and disclosure of one's religion, while terrorism has included criminal behavior for political purposes. Religious radicalism emphasizes internal religious issues, while terrorism is a global phenomenon requiring global action. (Fanani, 2013 :1-14)

Radicalism impedes of threat, challenge and national obstacles, with various motives, such as ethnicity, nationalism or separatism, poverty, economic disadvantage, globalization, lack of democracy, dehumanization, and religious exclusivity. Radicalism is often identified with terrorism embedded in Islam. This movement initially emerged as a form of resistance to communism in Indonesia and resistance to the application of Pancasila as the sole principle in politics. The radical groups want the formalization of the sharia law as a solution in state life without adhering to the principles of democracy. Meanwhile, terrorism is a transnational crime and an organized crime against humanity, peace and national security. This is certainly very detrimental to the community's welfare, so it is categorized as an extraordinary crime. Therefore, it requires a remarkable handling pattern of exceptional measure. (Khamdan, 2015:181-204)

Social media is a general term used to interact with fellow humans, including online platforms with various attributes, formats, and elements in communication. Social media has become so interesting because it has multiple features and characters. It significantly influences several aspects of real-world life, including stimulating social movements. Therefore, social media is the most vulnerable medium for spreading ultra-conservative ideology. These ultra-conservative movements spread

propaganda, especially to the younger generation. They use extreme and radical narratives. (Syahputra, 2018:20)

Radicalism and youth are two close elements. Young people who are finding their identity are the most strategic targets to strengthen the radicalism movement. (Fanani, 2013:6) From data on the deradicalization program of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) in February 2017, it was found that the average number of terrorist inmates in prisons are 17-34 years old. Fifty-two per cent of them are categorized as the younger generation. From the data above, it can be concluded that radical understanding is often found among young people. Young people who use the internet as a source of reference and entertainment are opening propaganda using content through the media. The common thread that makes a relatively large percentage of convicted terrorist convicts come from the young group is one of the answers that social media is an incubator for the birth of a radical religious understanding.

Several studies show that the emergence of radicalism among young Indonesians is influenced by psychological factors, domestic and international political conditions, textual religious texts, loss of role models to charismatic figures. The development of science and technology also contributes to various factors that cause a person to be involved in religious radicalism. Social change causes the degradation of morality to occur quickly. In addition, the lack of understanding of religion and the continued impact of preliminary reading causes radicalization drivers to find excellent opportunities by manipulating religious emotions and sentiments, encouraging people to oppose the established situation in the development of society. (Widyaningsih, et al, 2017:1553-1562)

Many young people have a stronger tendency and are more likely to be involved in radical social movements than adults due to the transitional phase in age growth that makes them prone to identity crises. This crisis then allows a cognitive opening to accept radical new ideas. Another " moral shock " pathway that enables young people to participate in radical movements is a "moral shock". Young people as the net generation by, using the internet as a source of reference and entertainment as a gap for radical understanding to enter because radical-based religious groups use social media as a medium to spread their ism and understanding. On the other hand, the constant propaganda through social media

A study conducted in UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta and PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and the Center for the Study of Islam for Democracy and Peace (Puspidep) Yogyakarta in 2017 found that *jihadi*, *tahriri* and *salafi* movements began to dominate in many universities. This is the seed for the growth of radicalism and extremism. This finding shows that students are vulnerable to becoming followers and supporters of radical movements and terrorism. This phenomenon raises whether it is possible to prevent this movement rate. Therefore, young people need to understand religion and radicalism not to become followers of radical movements. The expected goals and objectives are so that teenagers/young people do not believe that radicalism and terrorism are right. (Kompas, 2018)

A survey conducted by The Wahid Institute in 2020 indicated that intolerance in Indonesia tends to increase from 46% to 54%. This increase is influenced by several factors, including; political contestations, religious lectures containing hate speech, and uploading content containing hate speech on social media. Intolerance results in destructive actions or impacts on other groups in Indonesia's midst of social life. The data shows that the trend of intolerance and Radicalism in Indonesia is increasing from time to time (Chafsoh & Wahid, 2020). Hate speech that uses social media seems

familiar and spreads fast with various reasons behind it. Political motivations and revenge make a reasonably high contribution amid an unfavourable political escalation. Political interests even pollute the ethics of democracy with many patterns of youth involvement because of their characteristics through the use of religious movements with micro-sociological processes that bring youth closer to new, more radical ideas. This paper will answer several questions: Why are so many young people involved and willing to commit acts of terrorism in the name of religion? What are the reasons that justify acts of terrorism in Indonesia?.

Experts assume that acts of radicalism carried out by youth are socio-political, economic, and psychological differences in seeing violence in the name of religion. However, some experts also claim that terrorist groups in Indonesia arise from several religious groups, such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Judaism.

There are several reasons when people join radical groups. One of them is the theological, social, and pragmatic reasons where they do not have a strong argument for why they did the action. The political, economic, psychomagic and cultural (religious) factors are the factors that are the most substantial reasons for someone to take acts of radicalism. These reasons are the basis for this deviant behavior in Indonesia and abroad.

Various studies have found that radicalism-terrorism behavior is also based on groups receiving unfair, discriminatory, political, or cultural marginalization. They assume that several types of injustice, misery, misguidance and violations are committed by certain groups so that they must be resisted and stopped.

The perpetrators of radical-terrorist acts use the term "political representative" to justify what is being done that the other party does not feel represented is another issue that is far from being considered by the perpetrators of violence in the name of religion behalf of the community. They think they have the right to "defend the marginalized", especially from the majority religious group in a country. Sometimes they are not from the majority religion but the minority because they feel treated discriminatively. In addition to the reasons that are "profane" above.

The fact that there is a primary reason for believing in a postulate or text (understanding) on religion that justifies radicalism-terrorist behavior is still ongoing in the process of religious violence that occurs on earth. The basis of sacred religious texts is reasonably convincing carried out by perpetrators of religious radicalism-terrorism. The existence of multiple interpretations of religious texts is widely used by perpetrators of terrorism and religious violence. They think that violence is permissible to protect the existence of religion.

This fact is reinforced by the opinion expressed by Mark Juergen Meyer, an expert on the religious revivalism movement, who wrote that there is a fundamental confusion regarding religious doctrine, which is understood as the basis of legitimacy for acts of terrorism in a secular state. R. Scott Appleby also thinks there is an ambivalence between sacred religious doctrine and violence. Thus, it can be concluded that acts of violence and terrorism may be committed in secular countries, including Indonesia.

Then, the leading cause of the development of radicalism is the lack of religious understanding. Many terrorist bombers, whether suicide bombings or bombing places, did such acts on behalf of jihad, fight against infidels. This is due to the misinterpretation of the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet.

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Islam in the Koran is the true religion. Islam does not teach violence or coercion to attract followers to convert to Islam. The leading cleric from Qatar, Yusuf Qardhawi, said that the main factor in the emergence of radical attitudes and actions was the inability of a person or group to understand religious texts. They understood Islam only superficially, not wholly (Rauf, 2015: 593-610).

This paper will describe and analyze various books, articles, journals and sources related to the issue of Islamic Radicalism involving young people and their impact in Indonesia. We hope that this paper will produce an article that can complement the academic discourse on Radicalism in Indonesia.

Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method, namely an approach that relies on the philosophy of positivism to describe and analyze phenomena, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, thoughts of people individually and in groups. Several descriptions are used to find principles and explanations that lead to conclusions. There are two reasons the author uses a qualitative approach. First, the paper describe and discuss about youth, radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Second, the following reason relates to the first reason that this paper explains a phenomenon where the thought can influence social life or even move a group into acts of violence in society.

The documentation method is used to obtain data in the form of notes and other documents related to the problems in this discussion. In discussing Youth, Radicalism and Terrorism, the author uses document sources such as; scientific journals, articles, etc. The collected data was then analyzed using descriptive analysis. This descriptive analysis can provide a reflective or comparative picture by comparing the similarities and differences in some instances or phenomena.

Result and Discussions

Transformation of Radicalism to Terrorism

The individual transformation from radical to terrorism is a social movement with many branches without a centralized organization. The group is fragmented with many branches and interwoven in a network (reticulate) organization. Gerlach called it a movement with the SPIN organization, namely segmented (split), polycentric (many leaders), an integrated network (unified network). In organizations like this, there is often overlap between organizations. A person can be a member of several organizations at the same time (Gerlach & Hine, 2001:289-310).

F asdathali Moghaddam (2005) studied with a psychological approach and found how a person experiences transformation into a terrorist. He explained that one could not become a terrorist all of a sudden. There are stages with various social dynamics and individual psychology that must be passed.

Moghaddam conceptualizes that acts of terrorism are the final stage of a narrowing mind (in the SETARA Institute study, this thought is categorized as intolerance). In Moghaddam's framework, to become terrorism, five ladders of conditions must be passed. When the individual interprets his material condition, on the first ladder, individuals seek solutions to what they perceive as unfair treatment; on the second ladder, the individual builds physical readiness to move the answer to the problem by attacking. Those who actively seek opportunities to launch attacks advance to the next stage is to take action against those they perceive as enemies. On the third ladder, individuals identify

themselves by adopting their moral values. The crucial development was on the third ladder leading to the fourth ladder, were once one entered a terrorist organization, there was little or no chance of getting out alive. Individuals in this fifth ladder are psychologically ready and motivated to carry out terrorist activities.

But the next problem is whether radical transformation to terrorists is rational or irrational. There are conclusions that state that the suicide bombings were carried out for altruistic reasons. But many analysts deny that suicide bombing is senseless because it costs a lot to become a martyr. The perpetrators are not understood as psychopaths to relieve mental illness because they carry out suicide bombings. This rational theory finds its significance when drawn to the organizational level. As Martha Crenshaw has theorized, terrorist organizations believe that violence is the best way to achieve political goals. Internally, suicide bombings can strengthen groups because they develop a need to survive. Externally, suicide bombing is a proven strategy to weaken the enemy. (Moghadam, 2008:51-52)

The theoretical concept can be found in social movement theory. The radical Islamic movement in Indonesia is a collective activity that aims to change social structure and value order. Therefore, the radical Islamic movement is based on rational considerations in composing the movement. In rational action theory, the perpetrators of the activity are sensible individuals. In many cases, they also get pragmatic advantages and the ideological satisfaction they believe. This theory contradicts the collective behavior theory, which views that social movement actors are not fully aware of the external forces that govern their lives. This theory sees the actors of social movements as emotional individuals who react to situations beyond their control. When linked in a radical Islamic movement, collective behaviour theory shows that Islamic activists are an irrational group and only seek martyrdom. Their activism results from social rifts and/or the experiences of misery, oppression, and suffering at individual and group levels. (Kurzman, 2003:291-293)

On the other hand, rational action theory sees radical Islamic movement activists as rational actors who try to achieve specific goals through careful cost-benefit calculations. Their activity is seen as a regular aspect of politics in modern democracies and not a sign of social disorder and imbalance. Therefore, the subject's perspective becomes the analysis of how Islamic activists respond to socio-politics changes, their views on social problems in society, and how they take advantage of political opportunities to achieve their goals. (Olesen, 2009:11)

In the study of social movements, the recruitment and mobilization of members is an essential part of knowing the development of a movement. This process received attention in the study of resource mobilization theory (RMT). This theory tries to criticize several previously emerged theories such as structural stress theory, mass society theory, and theory of relative deprivation, which emphasizes a psychological approach, and views movement actors as individual emotional groups.

Hence, this approach emphasizes the aspect of the emergence of a movement rather than how the movement develops. RMT argued that the mobilization and recruitment of members became a very important part of the movement. However, the basic thesis on the rationality of movement actors has made RMT strictly emphasize the role of networks through resource mobilization organizations (RMOs) and tend to ignore networks that manifest in informal *meso*-organizations called resource mobilization communities (RMC, 2003). resource mobilization community). In other words, the success of the RMT in incorporating stagnant factors in the form of a formal organization into the

analysis of social movements RMT reduced the network that plays a role in a mass movement in the form of a formal network. (McAdam, *et al*, 1988)

This RMT approach has been criticized by several observers of social movements with the emergence of beyond resource mobilization theory (beyond RMT). According to this theory, mobilization in the movement is limited to formal and non-formal networks in society. Interpersonal relationships built-in society such as kinship and friendship also have a big role in mobilizing a movement. In this study, the paradigm beyond RMT, non-formal networks will also receive serious attention in observing the mobilization process in the Salafi da'wah movement in Indonesia. (Buechler & Steven, 1993:34)

The use of non-formal networks that are not visible (invisible) is a form of creativity from Islamic activists to spread their ideas and agendas. For example, the most famous jargon of Islamists is "Islam is the solution". This jargon echoes at the level of the Islamic community and affects various elements, including social and political. It also encourages the birth of a collective identity of a community. Collective identity is a process that involves cognitive definitions of ends, means, behaviors and actions. The axis of this collective action is defined in terms of language and behavior shared within the movement's community. Then, this behavior is built and developed by movement leaders, religious authorities, intellectuals, writers, journalists, etc.

With the approach described above, the author will describe the role of young people in the discourse on Radicalism and Terrorism. I will see how terrorism and radicalism have become a link in sociological or theological modes that build propaganda agendas in Indonesian society in various forms, including education such as spirituality, social institutions, and government.

Definition of Radicalism

In theory, it can be said that radicalism is a stage or a step before terrorism. In general, terrorists who commit many destructive actions and suicide bombings have a radical understanding of various things, especially religious matters. The word "radical" that forms the term "radicalism" comes from the Latin radix, which means "root". Thus, "thinking radically" is the same as thinking to the roots. This has the potential to cause anti-establishment attitudes. (Taher, *et al*, 2004:21)

The word radicalism has different meanings when viewed from various interests. In a religious environment, radicalism is defined as a religious-based movement that seeks to change the existing political and social structure using violence completely. (Rubaidi, 2007:33) . Then according to the study of Social Sciences, the meaning of radicalism is an idea that wants to carry out fundamental reforms following the interpretation of the ideas adopted and social reality. (Hassani & Tigor, 2010:19) Therefore, radicalism is a global phenomenon that can occur in society with various motives, such as political, social, religious, and cultural, with extreme and anarchic acts of violence as a form of rejection of the symptoms being faced.

In a book entitled Emergency Terrorism: Policy on Prevention, Protection and Deradicalization, Agus Surya Bakti expresses his opinion that radicalism is divided into two forms, namely through actions and thoughts. In behavior, radicalism takes the form of anarchic actions of a person or group to achieve their goals. As for the order of view, radicalism functions as an abstract idea that encourages violent means to achieve specific goals. (Bakti, 2014:55)

Meanwhile, Zuly Qadir put forward another definition of radicalism. In his book entitled Religious Radicalism in Indonesia, he explains that radicalism is usually equated with Islamism. Where Islamism itself is interpreted as an ideology that holds that religion covers all dimensions of the life of modern society, all fields in society are determined by religion, starting from education, government policies, the legal system, to the economy and culture. (Qodir, :26)

Dr Phil, Suratno, anthropologist and chairman of The Lead Institute Paramadina University revealed that radicalism was initially popular in the West, taken from the word radical. However, this idea is not accepted because the word radical has a rooted meaning. In Arabic terms, rooting is somewhat compatible with the Salafism movement, which echoes the jargon of returning to the roots through *al-ruju' ila al-Quran wa al-Sunnah* (back to the Qur'an and Hadith). However, the term radicalism is often equated with extremism, namely violence. This term in Arabic is known as *tatharruf* or *ghuluw,* which means excessive. In Islam, both *tatharruf* and *ghuluw* are prohibited.(Suratno, 2020) Radical in the language of religion can also be interpreted as upholding the teachings of his religion because he has practised his religion with solid principles.

Forms of Radicalism

Based on the actors or subjects, radicalism is divided into two types. First is group radicalism, namely radicalism carried out against other groups. Second, individual radicalism is carried out by one person to another. (Henslin, 1990:154). Haidar Alwi, an anti-radicalism activist, said three types of radicalism in Indonesia. First, radicalism is based on belief. According to him, belief radicalism is the attitude of a person or group that always judges other people as an infidel. In addition, Haidar explained that this type of radicalism often assumes that everyone will go to hell except the group. (Qodir, 2016:429-445)

Radicalism in Indonesia is divided into three types. One radical in belief, whose job is to disbelieve in people. All accused of disbelievers, all considered going to hell except their group. (Ridwan, 2019) Furthermore, the second type is action radicalism. Haidar gave an example of JAD, namely Jamaah Ansharut Daulah, for this type of radicalism. According to Haidar's observations, JAD is a group that always justifies any means, such as taking lives or killing people in the name of religion. Then the third is radical in the form of politics. The group wants to change Pancasila as the legitimate state ideology. For them, the Khilafah ideology is more right than Pancasila. Haidar stated that the followers of the three are trendy in Indonesia. In fact, according to him, Indonesia is currently in an emergency against radicalism.

Sheikh Yusuf Qardhawi in his book Radical Islam mentions several indications of radicalism. IN linguistic terms, the indication meaning is a sign or a hint. So if someone already has some indications of radicalism, automatically, that person has also taken radical actions. As stated by Qardhawi, indications of radicalism are as follows. (Qardhawi, 2014:40)

1. Fanatical on one opinion and ignores other opinions

2. Obliging what is not prescribed by Allah to others so that they carry out

3. Acting hard and stiff anytime and anywhere

4. Always be suspicious (su'udzan) of others

5. Being takfir or disbelieving others

The Causes of Radicalism

In the phenomenon of violence in the name of religion, sociologists of religion, politics, and social science explain several reasons people are willing to commit acts of violence in religion, even though some religious experts forbid it. (Qodir, 2016:429-445).

First, radicalism raises are caused by the issue of religious understanding. It understands the verses of the Koran that teach about terrorism from the word jihad. Second, radicalism-terrorism is also associated with understanding a country's political, economic, and legal injustices. Third, radicalism-terrorism also occurs as a response to poor law enforcement. Law enforcement that does not run correctly will cause anger in various elements of society.

Consequently, many law enforcement officers are often the targets of violence by radicalizes-terrorists. For example, there were some shootings of police officers in several areas in Indonesia, such as in Poso, Mataram, Solo, and Jakarta. These actions prove that the police are considered unfair in enforcing the law.

Fourth, the education pattern emphasizes the aspects of teaching violence from religion. Education emphasizes the indoctrination aspect where students do not get the opportunity to ask questions or discuss a problem. This education model creates problems, one of which is encouraging students to carry out radicalization. Thus, it is necessary to rethink the model of religious education to be more transformative and liberate for humankind. Education about jihad is oriented to a more contextual meaning, such as efforts to eradicate poverty, eradicate the legal mafia, stop money politics and wrong parties.

The Wahid Foundation surveyed in 2017 reporting that 85% of high school students received material about jihad and *qital* (murder) in school recitations. Then the results of respondents' answers in the survey stated that 60% of respondents were willing to go to conflict areas if there was a chance. Then 68% of respondents are ready to carry out jihad in the future, and 6% support the existence of ISIS. (Huda, 2017:13).

According to the former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Mahfud MD, the rampant provocation of radicalism is caused by demands for justice against government policies. The radicalism movement is not a movement that just happens suddenly but has causes that trigger the emergence of the radicalism movement. (Qodir, 2016:429-445).

Social-Political Factor

Many factors cause the emergence of radicalism in Indonesia, including domestic conflicts such as the massacre of religious leaders, especially *kyai* who disguised themselves as witch doctors, the Poso tragedy, and the Ambon tragedy) which placed Muslims as victims. Unfortunately, the government does not provide adequate handling and slowly deals with "immorality". Apart from these factors, established Muslim organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI are considered powerless in solving problems Muslims face. (Nuraida, 2013:154)

Religious Emotion Factors

One of the triggers for the radicalism movement is the religious emotion factor, in which religious solidarity creates religious sentiments. The attitude that revelation in certain religions is absolute and radical reactions is always linked to defending religion. (Nurjannah, 2013:177-198)

Cultural Factors

Cultural factors are considered to have a significant role in the emergence of radicalism. Musa Asy'ari stated that some societies tend to stay away from a culture deemed inappropriate, for example, the rejection of the culture of secularism. Radicals think that the source of secularism is western culture that must be destroyed. In reality, western culture is the most dominating culture in various aspects of Muslim countries and cultures.

Anti-Westernism Ideological Factors

Westernization is an element that is considered dangerous for Muslims in implementing Islamic law. Many of them think that westernization must be destroyed for the sake of upholding Islamic law. Although the anti-Western movement is not entirely at fault, the way they enforce it proves their inability to compete in civilization and culture.

Government Policy Factors

The government's policy in an Islamic state runs by improving the conditions for most Muslims' widespread frustration and anger because of the ideological domination, the military, faced by the people. The International Crisis Group (ICG) revealed that Islamic radicalism in Indonesia was triggered by four main factors, namely poor governance, political violence, the spirit of Arabism, and global awakening. (International C Group, 2003:2)

Youth Radicalism

Radicalism is still a serious problem for many people. Even though organizationally, the radicalism network has indeed weakened considerably. However, this success does not mean the end of the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. This resulted in the opening of the faucet of political freedom and democratization following the fall of the New Order regime, providing space for the emergence of various kinds of expressions built on primordial sentiments and identities and paving the way for the expansion of radicalism. (Supriadi, 2018:69-84)

The phenomenon of increasing or deepening radicalism among young people is quite worrying. This emerged simultaneously with the development of the rise of the Indonesian Muslim middle class after the New Order. The use of economic growth, democratization, and information disclosure post-reform in 1998 created an opportunity to show their religious identity. This is done to express their religious morality anxiety, which is starting to erode and be contaminated by secular culture. (Rakhmani & Lughod, 2017:55)

Radicalism and intolerance can be sown and continue to grow in recitation groups. As is known, the moral support of extended families has long been lost due to urbanization. Meanwhile, social and economic pressures succeeded in creating individualization. Individuals increasingly lose respect for the moral guidance of their extended family, religious authority, and the traditions of their home community. In other words, they experience de-tradition. This is even worse when young people are separated from the warmth of their families so that young people both at school or college or outside

educational institutions end up enjoying their own private lives. Thanks to digital technology and social media (such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc.), individuals finally find new communities and peers considered more promising for warmth and intimacy as a substitute for family and supporting social communities.(Huda, :12) So that the behavior of young people and the consequences of radicalism can be formulated as follow tabel 1.

Tabel 1 Millennial Generation Traits and Behaviors

Sumber: (Wahid Foundation, 2017: 12)

NATURE AND CONSEQUENCE BEHAVIOR	NATURE AND CONSEQUENCE BEHAVIOR
1) More trust interactive information than unidirectional information Vertical authority is getting lost; authority is not easy to dictate	1) More trust interactive information than unidirectional information Vertical authority is getting lost, authority is not easy to dictate
2) Prefer mobile phones over television Access to information, entertainment, commodities, and others without control	2) Prefer mobile phones over television Access to information, entertainment, commodities, and others without control
3) Must have social media Access to young and broad information and ideas as well as widespread consumptive cultural behavior	3) Must have social media Access to young and broad information and ideas as well as widespread consumptive cultural behavior
4) Tend to read conventionally. The siltation of information and knowledge	4) Likes to read conventionally. The siltation of information and knowledge
5) Know more about technology than parents Access to information extends beyond traditional knowledge	5) Know more about technology than parents Access to information extends beyond traditional knowledge
6) Tends to be disloyal but work effectively Low authority grip	6) Tend to be disloyal but work effectively Low authority grip
7) Starts doing a lot of cashless transactions Easier and increased consumption and decisions without consultation	7) Start doing a lot of cashless transactions Easier and increased consumption and decisions without consultation

To spread intolerant ideas/attitudes and recruit members, radicals seek opportunities by establishing small groups or entering groups that already exist in both formal and non-formal educational institutions. This group sometimes invites former figures, seniors, public figures or artists who are considered "repentant", to add to the attraction for teenagers. Furthermore, youth interest becomes the entrance to study groups that are more specific and limited; they begin to define themselves into in-group and out-group divisions. (Huda, :12)

The ISIS phenomenon is a series of events and conditions that can be observed and assessed from a scientific point of view or in particular disciplines. Phenomena can occur in all places that humans can follow. The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is a new and surprising phenomenon. ISIS is a group that conducts operations in Iraq and Syria has brought influence to other

countries, including Indonesia. The movement led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is known for its sadistic way of justifying all means such as killing, massacring, looting, terrorizing anyone from any different group, blocking, and rejecting the existence of the ISIS group. Many media reported that teenagers were joining the ISIS group. They carry weapons, practice war, and even appear involved in bombings and actual battles, namely bombing, mortars, and even murder. (Qodir, 2016:429-455)

The involvement of youth radicalism cannot be separated from the increasing acts of violence and terrorism carried out by young Muslims in Indonesia recently, especially after the collapse of the New Order regime. Although conceptually radicalism is not synonymous with terrorism or violence, terrorism and vigilantism can be seen as variants of radicalism. The violence perpetrated by young people also cannot be separated from the role of social media, which is rapidly spreading in human life. Social media is the primary source of violence and terrorism in Indonesia.

In summary, youth radicalism can be viewed as a response, criticism and antithesis to the orthodox and mainstream that occurs in power relations that can take the form of violence or non-violence. In addition, when viewed from radicalism, it is power and political control by promoting or covering or utilizing primordial groups (ethnicity, nation, race, belief, religion, and belief). The primordial approach is one of the radical movement groups to build strength and gain legitimacy and solidarity.

Rohis Dilemma (The Religious Community at The School)

There is an increasingly complex trend among teenagers today, ranging from juvenile delinquency brawls to religious fervour that leads to radicalism. The teaching system in religious sciences causes radical attitudes in religion among teenagers. This, coupled with the age of adolescence, is identical to conditions that prioritize emotion rather than reasoning. When religious understanding is taught doctrinally and in contact with emotions, it will be more readily accepted as a pattern of truth in religion. This is what encourages instant learning in religion among teenagers.

Religious teaching institutions for teenagers in schools are known as *rohis* . (Tolkhah in Wibowo, 2015: 18 19), who are more concerned in the field of teaching religious understanding as an effort to form a complete human being, namely physically and mentally healthy. Therefore, the area of spiritual study is in theology, jurisprudence, and socio-religious life to create human beings who are faithful, pious, and have noble character.

Several studies have shown that religious teaching in *rohis* creates attitudes and patterns of religious movements among Muslim youth or students, leading to intolerant and radical perspectives. (BBC.com/Indonesia, December 5 2020)

The phenomenon of spirituality as a forum that teaches Islam to junior high and high school students tends to be instant (Analysis of the Journal of Social Science and Religion Volume 22 No. 01 June 2015: 97-108). This is because Islamic studies have a small portion compared to other subjects. In addition, a *rohis* is optional for students, so members of the *rohis* will try to develop their area of intensive study under their institutional network and intellectual reasoning network.

The radical and intolerant attitude that spiritual activists tend to have as representatives of young people will continue to develop and further studies at public universities (LIPI, 2011). Thus, the pattern of truth that they believe in is an ideological formation that must be fought for continuously

and will form a "model" of intolerant Islamic youth thinking (www.wahidinstitute.org. Accessed December 5, 2021).

The existence of books/reading materials for spiritual activists has a very strategic role in shaping a discourse that is produced sustainably (Mizania Publisher, 2013). This is because books/reading materials represent the existence of discourses/discourses that are transferred from the source to the recipient. The reading books in the Rohis have a relationship with the ideological style followed. The ideal dream about the world (utopia), also strengthens the connection with the interconnected network. Books/reading materials also reflect the pattern and genealogy of thought developed among spiritualists.

The Maarif Institute also conducts various studies on radicalism and the younger generation, as exposed in its journal publications. In the Maarif Journal (2013: 9 11), several articles discuss radicalism in the younger generation. Muhammad Najib Azca, who discussed adolescent radicalism and its urgency after the New Order with the theory of social movements and youth agencies, stated that this symptom of youth radicalism is an act of identity to respond to the identity crisis experienced during Indonesia's democratic changes. Zuly Qodir, who analyzed youth radicalism with a socio-religious movement approach, found that social conditions greatly influenced religious radicalism. Ahmad Baedowi, who studied the paradox of the nationality of Indonesian students, stated that high school students in Jabodetabek have an increased tendency towards religious radicalism and acts of violence. Zora A. Sukabdi, with a psychological perspective, said that in the context of adolescent radicalism, religion is often perceived as the most influential factor; therefore, religious education needs to be returned to its function to strengthen the character of youth. Many other studies talk about this issue in this edition of the Maarif Journal and several studies on deradicalization efforts in various places as case studies. Another interesting finding in this journal is the research finding of the Maarif Institute in 2011 written by Ahmad Gaus AF, which shows the efforts of radical groups to enter the school environment to spread ideas and recruit members.

Intolerance in *Rohis* Literature

Tolerance and intolerance in Rohis' reading materials are easier to identify based on the affiliation of Islamic understanding adopted, quoted, or referred to along with the characters. For example, Salafi groups and HTI are groups with indications of intolerance. The spiritual reading materials' data were varied and even contained readings affiliated with Salafis and HTI. However, these reading materials are not necessarily used as a reference source, sometimes only as enrichment or even as an insight into the history of the previous generation of spiritualists.

Reading material can be categorized into suspended text and living text. Suspended texts in the sense of texts are rarely accessed by *Rohis* students and students in general, while live texts are texts that students still access. There are generally more lively texts from online media, although printed reading materials (books, magazines, bulletins, and the like).

The potential for intolerance in reading materials also varies—some examples of texts that lean towards Salafism or the issue of Islamic purification. In general, it can be concluded that the reading material supports the assumption that there has been a decrease in the level of intolerance for spiritual reading from the previous periods.

The readings of Rohis activists have significance as discourses embodied in a text. This is because the text in the Rohis activists' readings refers to language as an event, namely the language that talks about something. This language is used to communicate. Meanwhile, the text is an autonomous corpus characterized by the following four things: (Ricoeur, 2006).

1) In a text, the meaning of what is said is independent of the saying process, whereas the two approaches cannot be separated in spoken language.

2) The meaning of a text is no longer tied to the speaker, as is spoken language. What is meant by the text is no longer related to what the author thought. This does not mean that the author is no longer needed, but a standardized text has hindered the author's intention.

3) Because it is not tied to a dialogue system, a text is no longer bound to an ostensive reference. It is not connected to the original context of the conversation. , what the text points to is thus an imaginary world constructed itself and concerning other readers.

4) Text is no longer bound to the initial audience, as spoken language is attached to its listeners. A text is not written for a specific reader but for anyone who can read it. It is not limited to space and time. A text builds its own life because a text is a monologue.

Thus, the text will depend on the reader. Suppose the reader is more inclined to extreme attitudes. In that case, religious texts that can be understood in an emotional state are very vulnerable to understanding, leading to intolerance and radicals.

Syafiq Hasyim, Director of the International Center for Islam and Pluralism and Lecturer of FISIP UIN Jakarta, stressed twenty indicators of extremism presented by Alex P. Schmid. This indicator of religious extremism applies to phenomena within Islam and religious phenomena in general. Although it is global for all religions, in international discourse, religious extremism is inherent and popular with Islam after the September 11, 2001 tragedy.

According to Alex P. Schmid's version, twenty indicators for monitoring extremism are as follows (Schmid. 2014: 21 22).

1) This movement tends to position itself outside the mainstream or reject the social, political, and world order.

2) Trying to overthrow the political order to rebuild what they perceive as the natural order in society, whether based on race, class, belief, or ethnic superiority.

3) Have ideological programs and action plans aimed at gaining political or communal power.

4) Rejecting or disrupting the conception of the legal order of a democratic society, using the public space provided by the democratic system to advance their goal of taking political power.

5) Reject international declarations of human rights and show their incompetence and do not recognize the rights of others.

6) Reject democratic principles based on popular sovereignty.

7) Denying equality in general, especially for women and minorities.

8) Rejecting diversity and pluralism, even advancing a monolithic cultural system (monoculture society).

9) Using the philosophy of all means (ends justify means) in achieving goals.

10) Actively encourage and prioritize violence to combat perceived crimes to achieve their political goals.

11) Demonstrating a tendency to engage in mass violence against their enemies while in power or in a state of impunity.

12) Usually uses a black or white point of view, wants to purify the world, and spit hate on the enemy.

13) Refusing to compromise and want to eliminate the enemy.

14) Putting aside individual freedom for the sake of the collective interest.

15) Shows intolerance for all views outside their view and expresses rejection through anger, aggression, hatred, both in behavior and speech.

16) Displaying fanaticism, positioning oneself as a threatened party, and using conspiracy theories without admitting their actions are irrational.

17) Displaying dictatorial, authoritarian, and totalitarian attitudes.

18) Do not want to be criticized, intimidated, and criticize by different parties as dissidents with accusations of heresy and death threats.

19) Demanding to be obeyed.

20) Having an unchangeable idea and are close to the truth they believe in, even willing to die to defend it.

Young People as Decision-Makers

As the motor of the future, the role of youth is essential. Young people are the future of a nation that wants to move forward. Young people cannot be accused of being a disruptive group, but they are a community group that is on the move and continues to seek. They, young people, cannot be placed as entities who are always in "misguided thoughts" and misguided actions in the name of religion or God.

According to UNESCO, youth age starts at the age of 15-35 years. Hence, young people still receive education from upper secondary to tertiary institutions. Thus, we are responsible for providing lessons or lecture materials in accordance with social reality (Qodir, 2016:429-455).

Education must teach the reality of diversity, social recognition of diversity, and lead the mission of peace to build a nation and a dignified human being in a broad dimension. Once again, young people are objects and subjects who have their world. Therefore, they deserve the attention the world needs.

Some facts found the involvement of young people in acts of intolerance that continue to increase. Young people need to be present in a public space full of problems in front of their noses. Therefore, young people need to be involved in an increasingly violent process of social change. Young

people need to understand socio-economic, political, and historical conditions to have a clear picture of a state phenomenon. Young people have creativity and initiative. Thus, we must provide space for expression and imagination to build the future if the interest distribution is positive and follows social ideals.

The dominance of young people in cyberspace is a common thing that we encounter. Young people's activities on social media cannot be stopped because this is their world that consistently accesses social media for 3-4 hours/day. Thus, they have broad access to sites that often display hate speech to other parties. This is undoubtedly dangerous if the people who upload hate news are young. Center for Cultural Studies and Social Change, University of Muhammadiyah Surakarta that Islamic social media recorded 87% of hate news had been accessed by young people. Young people's activities on social media cannot be stopped because this is their world that consistently accesses social media for 3-4 hours/day (Qodir, 2016:429-455).

This is where the clergy's task is to carry out digital-based da'wah and make social media provide inclusive religious understanding. It is hoped that young people will develop tolerant views and attitudes, respect differences, respect religious beliefs different from their own. The young people who have built the idea of tolerance and social solidarity are the ones we make as agents of peace and social solidarity.

This tendency by some observers of the media and Islamic populism is due to the revival of religious identity politics or Islamic populism. In terms of religious da'wah, preachers cannot cultivate radical seeds and intolerance of young people. According to their historical and social context, they should be avoided from religious doctrines conveyed haphazardly and incompletely. The clergy must set a real example in words. They are also expected to speak politely, wisely, and act peacefully, reassuringly and not carelessly say and act. (Hadiz, 2015)

Efforts to Prevent Radicalism in Indonesia

Implementing the values of Pancasila is one of the efforts to prevent the spread of radicalism. Pancasila has proven to be a unifying tool for the nation. With the spirit of Pancasila, the youth and all components of the country must prevent radicalism and terrorism. It should be done for the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and peace in the world. Furthermore, the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP-PIP) introduced a new style of Pancasila education. (Mulyadi, 2017)

The media is an essential means to prevent the propaganda efforts of radicalism in society. Media acts as a response to asymmetric threats. The media has a very strategic and influential role in influencing national, regional and international situations in various fields. The power of the media can be used as a tool to change perceptions, opinions and social control that leads to public policy.

Mass media is an integral and essential element of local, national, regional, and global communities to provide various information needs for the community. Therefore, to overcome the roots of terrorism, it is necessary to have a synergy between security apparatus institutions assisted by multiple parties, community leaders, community organizations, political figures, religious leaders, and contributions from the media. The notion of radicalism can also be denied by doing things as follow. (Mulyadi, 2017)

Stay in Touch with Many People

Individuals who are closed tend to be easily influenced by the teachings of radicalism. One thing that can be done is establishing excellent and positive relationships with the people around them. Amin (2003) stated that "Maintaining a good or harmonious relationship with fellow human beings is a must. Thus we will get various kinds of luck. For example, sustenance will expand. We will be loved, not only by the inhabitants of the earth but also of the heavens."

Read a Lot of References

Reading various references will prevent someone from thinking narrowly in understanding teaching. If someone only refers to one reference, the tendency to follow and become fanatical becomes bigger. It's different if you read a lot of books, you will be able to compare a problem with various perspectives. So, we can deal with this problem wisely.

Always Make the Self-Improvement

Amin (2003) stated, "If we always try to improve ourselves, correct mistakes, perfect weaknesses, improve performance, and then we are classified as people who always want better results or achievements".

Setting Life Goals

Every human being must have a purpose in life to manifest his mind. Anything that affects the mind will serve a specific purpose. This influence can come from various sources such as the environment, family, past trauma, idol figures, motivations of successful people, etc. For example, traumatic people who fail their goal in life might want to be free from such failures (Shihab, 2013:19)

Strategies to Prevent Radicalism and Intolerance Among Youth

Based on the discussions, reflections and diagnoses in the studies that have been carried out by the authors in this paper, several recommendations for preventing radicalism and intolerance among youth can be formulated as follows (Huda, 2017:14-15).

Economy

The government must balance a national profit-oriented development strategy via economic growth with a cooperative and participatory paradigm that includes young entrepreneurs from the local community. The lower-middle-class and lower class hope that the government of this reform product will meet their expectations. Otherwise, they will be carried away by the currents of social, ethnic, religious and regional sentiments (*geosentiment*).

Education

Education cannot be controlled by a development model oriented towards economic growth by ignoring or even throwing away the skills needed by this nation to survive democracy. The government should not appear as if it does not care about economic distribution and social equality, preconditions for a stable democracy, the quality of ethnic, religious and gender relations, and improving aspects of human life such as health and education. These will result in an education system that only produces generations of sophisticated, individualistic and alienated automatic machines. Instead, it makes citizens

who can think for themselves, strong and independent communities, have a language and moral imagination, love the homeland, and understand the achievements and sufferings of others.

Religion

Moderate Muslims must be present more proactively and aggressively in promoting and voicing views/ideas via the internet, social media and other forums. Thus, the millennial generation will get a complete picture that the essence of the teachings brought by the Prophet Muhammad and his successor scholars is Islam which is moderate, tolerant, peace-loving, and *rahmatan lil alamin.*

Family and Supporting Communities

The family is the smallest social unit of society, and traditions in society are the social and cultural capital for the growth of healthy individuals. Government programs that touch the lives of citizens are carried out in consultation with them. Development is carried out without destroying the carrying capacity of local families and communities. Through the family and the surrounding social environment, diversity education, cooperation, and Islamic learning that are *rahmatan lil alamin* are habituated early.

Ambassador of Change

Campuses, schools, mass organizations or NGOs, religious institutions, community study groups, governments, artists or artists, writers and the media must become ambassadors for change. This means that they must become "symbols of hope and strong will" to revive the lower-middle and lower-class youth and society as a whole. They are actively involved in promoting a peaceful and compassionate Islam for the poor. The government creates policies that have a real impact on society. The ambassadors of change are cooperatively involved in training and instilling a rational and spiritual mentality that transcends social sentiments. For example, mutual support and supply of information through mass media and disseminated publications.

CONCLUSION

This paper describes some youth characters in Indonesia. Most of them are referred to as a religious, friendly, tolerant, peaceful nation that likes cooperation, and the like is now being eroded. They are undergoing a significant degradation process caused by the phenomenon of radicalism and intolerance among human beings. Actions of radicalism, discrimination and the fading of love for Pancasila and the Indonesian nation are significant disasters that must be watched out for by all elements of the country who expect the unity of the Indonesian state to remain intact. Based on this, the government's firmness, concern for community organizations and civil society movements, and educational institutions must systematically continue to minimize radicalism and intolerance behavior.

In the era of modernization, technological developments carried out by social media are the most vulnerable media for spreading ultra-conservative ideas. Several facts such as ethnicity, nationalism or separatism, poverty, inequality, the absence of democracy, violations of human dignity, and religious exclusivity are often found on social media. Various efforts can be made for young people not to be exposed to radicalism and intolerance, including; an open attitude (to stay in touch) with many people, reading many references, always wanting to improve themselves, and setting life goals. The government's strategies to tackle these problems are through economics, education, religion, family or

supporting communities, and ambassadors for change internalized in various institutional institutes in Indonesia.

The phenomenon of radicalism which is the focus of writing this paper is only one of many problems that can be developed without feeling like we are exposing the religion we are adhering. In fact, by examining religious phenomena that continue to occur in Indonesia, we will be enriched in developing perspectives in religion. Today's study of religion (Islam in particular) should not be opposed to the various approaches developed in the scientific tradition. Based on different scientific methods, a religious person is expected to create open religious thinking and contribute alternatives to solving social problems that arise in every episode of human history.

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