

## The Emergence of Student-Writers in Surakarta: Combating Religious Radicalism Among Youth in the Digital Age

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### ABSTRAK

Kenaikan angka kasus radikalisme agama di kalangan anak muda di wilayah Soloraya sangat dipengaruhi oleh teknologi digital. Upaya untuk mengatasi masalah ini muncul dari kalangan santri-penulis di Surakarta. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji kemunculan santri-penulis di Surakarta, respons mereka terhadap radikalisme agama, diskusi tentang Islam dalam komunitas mereka, dan metode mereka dalam berdakwah di era digital. Netnografi digunakan untuk mengumpulkan dan mengkaji data dari sumber online seperti situs web dan platform media sosial. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa santri-penulis mulai terlibat pada tahun 2017 melalui pembentukan Pusat Kajian dan Pengembangan Pesantren (PKPPN) di IAIN Surakarta. Diskusi mereka berfokus pada penggalian nilai-nilai kebijaksanaan dan moderasi Islam dalam tradisi pesantren, dengan penekanan pada prinsip-prinsip seperti moderasi, toleransi, kesetaraan, anti-kekerasan, dan patriotisme. Mereka telah memulai program Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran (LISaN) untuk mempromosikan bentuk Islam yang santun dan toleran dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, baik offline maupun online. Inisiatif ini bertujuan untuk mengatasi lonjakan radikalisme agama di kalangan anak muda yang terhubung dengan dunia digital.

### ABSTRACT

The rise of religious radicalism among young people in the Soloraya region has been greatly influenced by digital technology. Efforts to address this issue have emerged from student-writers in Surakarta. This research aims to examine the emergence of these student-writers in Surakarta, their responses to religious radicalism, the discussions on Islam within their community, and their methods of outreach in the digital era. Netnography was never applied to gather and examine data from online sources like websites and social media platforms. The findings reveal that student-writers started their involvement in 2017 through the establishment of the Center for the Study and Development of Islamic Boarding Schools (PKPPN) at IAIN Surakarta. Their discussions focus on unearthing the values of wisdom and Islamic moderation within the pesantren tradition, emphasizing principles like moderation, tolerance, equality, anti-violence, and patriotism. They have initiated the Literacy of Refined and Tolerant Islam (LISaN) program to promote a refined and tolerant form of Islam in daily life, both offline and online. This initiative aims to counteract the surge of religious radicalism among young people connected to the digital world.

### KATA KUNCI

Santri-Penulis; Counter-Radikalisme; Anak Muda; Era Digital

### KEYWORDS

Santri-Writers; Counterradicalism; Young Adult; Digital Era

## A. Introduction

Scholars have unveiled that the existence of digital technology has exerted an influence on the emergence of radicalism. For instance, Carl Thompson posited that social media has transformed into a tool that can be utilized to radicalize individuals and collectives for the purpose of political and social transformation. Social media effectively facilitates the connection of people to diverse sources of information, thereby creating a perception of direct engagement in an event.<sup>1</sup> Referring to online media research conducted by The Rand Corporation, Yayah Khisbiyah et al. further contend that social media can heighten the likelihood of individuals and groups being radicalized through its impact on outreach, engagement, information dissemination, communication, and the propagation of ideological beliefs. Furthermore, web-based digital media plays a pivotal role in the process of radicalization among terrorists and violent extremists. Social media messages that fall under the category of radicalism exhibit distinguishing features such as expressing animosity and intolerance towards others, opposing established legal systems and orders, encompassing revolutionary elements, and containing elements of violence and threats against others.<sup>2</sup>

Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) has conducted a thorough analysis and identified that Soloraya is one of the regions serving as a hub for radical-extremist group activities in Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> This identification is based on historical evidence presented in the research conducted by Muhammad Zulfan Tadjoeeddin and Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, which highlights numerous instances of communal conflicts in Soloraya, with roots in ethnicity, social dynamics, politics, and religion, spanning from the pre- to post-independence era of Indonesia.<sup>4</sup> In a study conducted by the Ma'arif Institute, as cited by Fanani, it is pointed out that educational institutions, including those in Solo, have become a breeding ground for radical-minded groups, as they exert influence on the religiosity of the millennial generation, encouraging their participation in the Islamic State campaign for the establishment of Islamic sharia in Indonesia.<sup>5</sup> The research findings of M. Zainal Anwar also shed light on the political perspectives held by active young Muslims, who assume managerial roles in various youth organizations in schools, madrasas, colleges, and mass organizations in Soloraya. These young

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<sup>1</sup> Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Yayah Khisbiyah et al, *Kontestasi Wacana Keislaman di Dunia Maya: Moderatisme, Ekstremisme, dan Hipernasionalisme* (Surakarta: Pusat Studi Budaya dan Perubahan Sosial Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2018), 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> BNPT, "Gerakan Radikal di Solo," *Solopos*, 7 Desember, 2017, diakses Mei 2023.

<sup>4</sup> Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, "Dinamika Radikalisme dan Konflik Bersentimen Keagamaan di Surakarta," *Studia Philosophica et Theologica*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2010): 258-287; Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeeddin, "Anatomy of Social Violence in the Context of Transition: The Case of Indonesia 1990-2001," *Politics Administration and Change*, Vol. 38 (Juli-Desember 2002): 1-35.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Fuad Fanani, "Fenomena Radikalisme di Kalangan Kaum Muda," *Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2013): 4-13.

individuals perceive no obligation to adhere to Pancasila, influenced by the diminishing discussions on ideology and the foundation of the state among the youth in Soloraya.<sup>6</sup>

In Anwar's other works, he argues that there has been a surge in instances of radical and extreme occurrences in Soloraya in recent years. These episodes primarily involve the propagation of hate speech targeted at the sizable millennial population. Notably, the resonance of such audible expressions is not confined to the physical realm, but extends into the virtual sphere of online platforms such as social media.<sup>7</sup> This can be attributed to the rarity of extreme concepts dispersed among the millennial demographic via various social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Twitter during the digital age.<sup>8</sup>

Khisbiyah's study reveals that the occurrence of online radicalization is not limited to the various social media platforms mentioned earlier, but also extends to web-based online media. He emphasizes that non-affiliated Islamic organizations, specifically those not associated with mainstream Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, actively engage with online media. These organizations have spearheaded the establishment of Islamic websites like *eramuslim.com*, *voa-islam.com*, *arramah.com*, and *thoriquana.id*, which disseminate content that is inflammatory, sensationalized, provocative, biased, and sentimental in nature. Their content lacks concrete evidence, integrity, and thorough verification. Additionally, it advocates for armed jihad, supports the establishment of an Islamic caliphate, and is even implicated as a catalyst for radicalism.<sup>9</sup>

The prevalence of religious extremism in the virtual domain within Indonesia has generated a diverse range of responses from both governmental entities and civil society. These incidents are observable in the form of derogatory language, primarily targeting the substantial millennial population. Conversely, civil society has witnessed the rise of writers originating from Islamic educational institutions and colleges who have turned to the internet to establish platforms like *Islami.co*, *Alif.id*, *IBTime*, *Neswa.id*, and *NU Online*. These platforms provide a means for writers with a background in educational institutions and preachers from within their own ranks to construct an alternative narrative to the conservative Islamic discourse disseminated by specific factions or unaffiliated Islamic organizations, thereby granting them authority. Remarkably, in Surakarta, individuals with a moderate outlook have also emerged from Islamic educational institutions and

<sup>6</sup> M. Zainal Anwar et al., "Pro dan Kontra Pancasila: Pandangan Politik Anak Muda Muslim di Solo," *POLITIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2021): 107–127.

<sup>7</sup> M. Zainal Anwar et al., "Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran: Pendampingan terhadap Kelompok Muslim Milenial untuk Mencegah Arus Radikalisme-Ekstrem di Soloraya," *ENGAGEMENT: Jurnal Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2021): 235-236.

<sup>8</sup> Puji Harianto, "Radikalisme Islam dalam Media Sosial (Konteks; Channel Youtube)," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2018): 297-326; Oni Arizal Bastian et al., "Urgensi Literasi Digital dalam Menangkal Radikalisme pada Generasi Milenial di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0," *Dinamika Sosial Budaya*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2021): 126-133; Ahmad Zamzamy, "Menyoal Radikalisme di Media Digital," *Dakwatuna: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2019): 13-29.

<sup>9</sup> Khisbiyah et al, *Kontestasi Wacana*, 68-87.

colleges and have introduced platforms such as [islamsantun.org](http://islamsantun.org), as well as various other social media outlets, to address this pressing demand.

This article aims to explore various aspects, specifically the background surrounding the rise of the centrist movement in Surakarta, their response to the religious radicalism exhibited by young individuals in Soloraya, the evolution of discussions about Islam within their ranks, and their adaptation of preaching methods in the digital era. Former investigations have brought to light the occurrence of radicalism among the youth, both offline and on the web. This study places particular emphasis on the role of civil society actors affiliated with centrist religious institutions in Islamic universities, who are actively working to curb the spread of religious radicalization among Indonesian youth in the digital age. The research argues that traditional Muslim groups, often perceived as unable to adapt to modernity and digital technology, have indeed undergone significant transformations over the past decade. Consequently, this study intends to demonstrate that the boarding school community and scholars from Islamic colleges remain steadfast in promoting a welcoming and tolerant Islamic image, while upholding the principles of diversity in Indonesia. Hence, this research will complement previous studies concerning the escalating issue of religious radicalism in Indonesia, particularly within the Soloraya region.

In examining the above, researchers used the netnography method. The netnographic method, which combines the realms of the internet and ethnography, serves as a means to investigate and comprehend the customs and practices of internet users by means of participatory observation within virtual domains, such as websites and social networks. This particular approach aims to present an account of behavior and culture from the perspective of the individual being studied, achieved through the execution of research and interaction with said individual in online settings.<sup>10</sup> The initial step entails meticulously selecting the online community and its corresponding data sources, specifically focusing on authors hailing from Surakarta, with data sources including [islamsantun.org](http://islamsantun.org), YouTube (@Islamsantun), Instagram (@islamsantun), Facebook (@Islamsantun), and Twitter (@islam\_santun). Subsequently, participation and observation transpire, entailing the act of immersing oneself within the ranks of active members or establishing connections with Islamic social media platforms, thereby observing interactions and activities within these spaces in order to grasp the habits and behavioral patterns displayed by the aforementioned authors. Recording and documentation follow as the third step, encompassing the diligent preservation of all observations, interactions, content, as well as pertinent information derived from Islamic websites and social media, be it in textual, visual, auditory, or audiovisual form. The fourth step revolves around data analysis, involving a thorough examination of the amassed data in order to identify emergent themes or issues that pertain to the writers and the religious radicalism prevalent among young individuals. Finally, the fifth step entails interpretation and

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<sup>10</sup> Eriyanto, *Metode Netnografi Pendekatan Kualitatif dalam Memahami Budaya Pengguna Media Sosial* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2022).

findings, wherein the acquired data is scrutinized and interpreted to fully comprehend and accurately describe the issues at hand, ultimately culminating in the formulation of conclusive findings to be documented within the results of this study.

## B. Religious Extremism, Youth, and the Digital Age

The term radicalism derives from the fundamental word 'radical'. In the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), radical denotes: extensively; wholeheartedly; advanced in cognition and action.<sup>11</sup> In the religious realm, radical signifies an excessive disposition in matters of faith, encompassing both thinking and behavior, with the intention of effecting change through violent means.<sup>12</sup> Within the Islamic framework, religious radicalism is also acknowledged as Islamic radicalism. As per Zuly Qodir, the distinguishing features of Islamic radicalism encompass: 1) a reluctance to engage in dialogues regarding its ideas with others, 2) an insistence on compelling others to accept its perspectives at any expense, 3) frequent utilization of the term takfiri to classify those who dissent, and 4) a belief in the necessity to combat non-believers.<sup>13</sup>

The term "young person" is subject to subjective interpretation due to the varying categorization methods employed by individuals and organizations. For instance, Undang-Undang Kepemudaan RI defines a young person as someone aged between 18 and 35 years old, whereas PBB defines it as someone between 15 and 24 years old.<sup>14</sup> However, an alternative classification by Judhistira, as cited by Muhammad and Pribadi, distinguishes young Indonesians into two groups: teenagers and young people. Teenagers are infamous for their uncommon dislikes, disinterests, and lifestyles that are unaffected by global developments, especially in the Western world. On the other hand, young people demonstrate heightened awareness of societal issues and often clash with the realities of society due to their idealistic nature.<sup>15</sup> In this specific context, young people can be understood as individuals currently enrolled in formal education at schools and colleges, actively exploring their self-identity and developing goals and aspirations in life.

Conversations surrounding the younger generation in the digital era often revolve around the matter of radicalism and religious extremism. This phenomenon is propelled by two distinct factors. Primarily, the decrease of digital culture has maintained the approach to religious education among young individuals, shifting from traditional methods that involve face-to-face interactions with religious authorities such as ustad, kiai, and ulama in boarding schools and madrasah, to the utilization

<sup>11</sup> Tim Penyusun Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Ibnu Ali dan Mujiburrohan, "Radikalisme dari Terminologi ke Fenomena." *AHSANA MEDIA: Jurnal Pemikiran, Pendidikan dan Penelitian Ke-Islaman*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2022): 37-39.

<sup>13</sup> Zuly Qadir, *Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia, Pertautan Ideologi Politik Kontemporer dan Kekuasaan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014). 39, 40-41.

<sup>14</sup> Maesy Angelina, "Siapakah 'Anak Muda' dalam Gerakan Anak Muda?," *Makalah disampaikan dalam diskusi Edisi Majalah CHANGE!*, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (1 Agustus 2011): 2.

<sup>15</sup> Wahyudi Akhmaliah Muhammad dan Khelmy K. Pribadi, "Anak Muda, Radikalisme, dan Budaya Populer," *Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2013): 135.

of internet platforms such as websites, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and others.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, conservative religious ideologies that advocate for extremist narratives have gained considerable influence on social media platforms, which are extensively consumed by young individuals.<sup>17</sup> These two factors present a notable risk of the proliferation of radicalism and extremism among the youth, particularly in light of the high rates of internet usage in Indonesia.<sup>18</sup> This assertion is corroborated by various research organizations, namely the Wahid Institute,<sup>19</sup> Setara Institute,<sup>20</sup> Alvara Research Center,<sup>21</sup> Maarif Institute,<sup>22</sup> and PPIM Jakarta,<sup>23</sup> all of which have uncovered alarming levels of intolerance, exclusivity, radicalism, and religious extremism among students in Indonesia's educational institutions.

Radicalism and extremism are widespread among religious circles, especially among young Muslims, in local regions of Indonesia, including Soloraya. Scholars Zainuddin Fannanie,<sup>24</sup> Nur Kafid,<sup>25</sup> and Muhammad Wildan,<sup>26</sup> have provided evidence of this phenomenon, shedding light on the radical and extreme actions carried out by the Surakarta Islamic Pemuda Front (FPIS). These actions were triggered by a combination of ethical, societal, financial, governmental, and religious factors. In Solo, intolerance and the potential for radical-extreme behavior are also observed among students. This was evident in the 2019 "Kartasura Bomb" case, perpetrated by a young individual enrolled in a state Islamic religious college in Surakarta.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, in the digital age, instances of radical-extreme

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<sup>16</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi dan Kontestasi* (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018); Martin Slama, "Practising Islam through Social Media in Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol. 46, No. 134 (2018): 1-4; A. Alfajri dan A. H. Pito, "Regresi Moderasi dan Narasi Keagamaan di Sosial Media," *Andragogi: Jurnal Diklat Teknis Pendidikan dan Keagamaan*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2021): 144.

<sup>17</sup> PPIM UIN Jakarta, "PPIM UIN Jakarta: Narasi Konservatif Kuasai Media Sosial," dalam <https://www.uinjkt.ac.id/ppim-uin-jakarta-narasi-konservatif-kuasai-media-sosial/>. Diakses pada 31 Juli 2023.

<sup>18</sup> Dimas Bayu, "APJII: Pengguna Internet Indonesia Tembus 210 Juta pada 2022," dalam <https://dataindonesia.id/internet/detail/apjii-pengguna-internet-indonesia-tembus-210-juta-pada-2022>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>19</sup> J. Kartawidjaja, "Survei Wahid Institute: Intoleransi-Radikalisme Cenderung Naik," dalam <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/284269/survei-wahid-institute-intoleransi-radikalisme-cenderung-naik>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>20</sup> Setara Institute, "Laporan Survei: Toleransi Siswa SMA Negeri di Jakarta & Bandung Raya," dalam <https://setara-institute.org/laporan-survei-status-toleransi-siswa-sma-di-jakarta-dan-bandung-raya/>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023; Setara Institute, "Wacana dan Gerakan Keagamaan di Kalangan Mahasiswa," dalam <https://setara-institute.org/wacana-dan-gerakan-keagamaan-di-kalangan-mahasiswa-2/>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>21</sup> Hasanuddin Ali dan Lilik Purwandi, *Radicalism Rising among Educated People?: Research Finding on Profesional, College and High Schools Students* (Jakarta: Alvara Research Center, 2018), 15-53.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad Gaus AF, "Pemetaan Problem Radikalisme di SMU Negeri di 4 Daerah," *Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2013): 234-241; M. Zaki Mubarak, "Dari Semangat Islam Menuju Sikap Radikal: Pemikiran dan Perilaku Keberagaman Mahasiswa UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta," *Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2013): 192-217.

<sup>23</sup> Yunita Faella Nisa et al, *Gen Z: Kegagalan Identitas Keagamaan* (Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2018).

<sup>24</sup> Zainuddin Fannanie, Atika Sabardila, dan Dwi Purwanto, *Radikalisme Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press dan The Asia Foundation, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Nur Kafid, "Dari Islamisme ke 'Premanisme': Pergeseran Orientasi Gerakan Kelompok Islam Radikal di Era Desentralisasi Demokrasi." *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2016): 56-79.

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Wildan, "Youth Radical Islamism in Solo as Manifested by Front Pemuda Islam." *Sosio-Politica*, Vol. 8, No. 1. (2018): 90-103.

<sup>27</sup> Gaus, "Pemetaan Problem," 234-241; Anwar et al., "Pro dan Kontra Pancasila," 107-127.

behavior, particularly in the form of hate speech involving young people in Soloraya, are increasingly prevalent both in the physical world and in cyberspace.<sup>28</sup> Addressing this issue requires collaborative efforts from various stakeholders to challenge and counter extremist narratives that undermine societal cohesion. Given the widespread influence of radical extremism, especially among digitally connected youth, immediate action is necessary.

### C. Santri-Writers: The Emergence and Response to Youth Religious Extremism in Soloraya

In the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, the term "santri" is characterized as an individual who dedicates themselves to the profound and earnest absorption of the Islamic faith.<sup>29</sup> In the scope of this discourse, "santri" pertains to those who have undergone a comprehensive immersion in Islam within boarding schools, as well as scholars who have successfully completed their studies at Islamic institutions. As for the specific authors under consideration, they are graduates of Islamic boarding schools and colleges who possess expertise in the field of writing. Presently, they actively serve as educators and administrators within an establishment known as the Nusantara Islamic Society and Education Center (PPM-PIN) of the University of Islamic State (UIN) Raden Mas Said Surakarta.

From a historical standpoint, PPM-PIN was initially known as the Pusat Kajian and Pengembangan Pesantren Nusantara (PKPPN) IAIN Surakarta. The establishment of PKPPN was initiated by M. Zainal Anwar, Nur Kafid, and other colleagues who held positions as lecturers at UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta and possessed a profound background in the realm of boarding schools. PKPPN was officially inaugurated by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia from 2014 to 2019, on the 19th of October, 2017. This institute is situated on the first floor of the Laboratory Building at UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta. In terms of its duties and functions, PKPPN is aligned with the Research and Community Service Institute (LPPM) of UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta.<sup>30</sup>

According to M. Zainal Anwar, the establishment of PKPPN was primarily motivated by two factors. Firstly, it aimed to create a platform for organizing lecturers, particularly those with a background in boarding schools, who are concerned about the boarding school environment. The intention was for this platform to facilitate the collaboration and examination of the values of boarding schools, which could then be incorporated into the ethos of Islamic universities. The ultimate goal was for Islamic boarding schools and colleges to project an image of Islam that respects and honors all beings. Secondly, the establishment of PKPPN aimed to provide a space for the realization of initiatives that express friendly, polite, and tolerant Islamic values. These initiatives were implemented as a response to the growing radical and extremist movements, particularly involving young

<sup>28</sup> Anwar et al., "Literasi Islam," 235-236.

<sup>29</sup> Tim Penyusun Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2008), 878.

<sup>30</sup> Rahmaditta Kurniawati, "Bimbingan Literasi Media dan Pengarus Utamaan Moderasi Beragama di PPM-PIN IAIN Surakarta," *QUALITY Journal of Empirical Research in Islamic Education*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2021): 323.

individuals, in Soloraya. PKPPN, situated in IAIN Surakarta, the sole public Islamic higher education institution in Soloraya, was expected to play a leading role in two main areas: the development of boarding school issues and countering the spread of radicalism and extremism in Soloraya.<sup>31</sup>

In 2021, PKPPN underwent a transformation and became the Nusantara Islamic Society and Education Center (PPM-PIN). This transformation was carried out with the aim of expanding its role, contribution, and network.<sup>32</sup> As Nur Kafid, the Deputy Director of PKPPN, pointed out, this transformation was a result of PKPPN's extensive experience gained through various local, national, and international activities. While pesantren (boarding school) remained the foundation and distinguishing feature, PKPPN had engaged in a range of activities, particularly at an international level, that necessitated a broader focus beyond boarding schools. As a result, PPM-PIN was introduced to broaden the scope of research and advocacy areas, thus allowing for a more comprehensive contribution to society while upholding the educational traditions of boarding schools.<sup>33</sup> Through the PPM-PIN platform, the authors reinforce their efforts by implementing innovative, creative, dynamic, responsive, and relevant programs that address the emerging issues in the community, particularly those relating to the youth in Soloraya.

The phenomenon of intolerance and extremism among young people in Soloraya is a cause of concern for centrist writers. An example of this unease is seen in Anwar's expression of concern over cases such as the increasing frequency of unempathetic voices towards individuals of the same religion. Additionally, there is a noticeable division between "us" and "them" based on differences in the practice of sunnah worship. The rise of hate speech is also linked to discrepancies in the references of religious leaders. Furthermore, the campaign against scientific activity in book discussions, due to the inclusion of unpopular sources, has sparked unfounded incitements and hate speech that are widely disseminated. These events prompt the centrists to question whether "there is still space for a well-mannered and tolerant version of Islam?"<sup>34</sup>

In addition to Anwar, Kafid and Khasan Ubaidillah, who are regarded as centrist-writers, there is a notable concern among them regarding the significant rise of radical extremism and intolerance among the youth in the Soloraya region. Numerous instances have been brought to attention, ranging from the extremist activities of Islamic Warriors to acts of intolerance, hate speech, and terrorism involving young individuals in Soloraya. The accumulation of such occurrences has led to the formation of generalizations within the community about the presence of such issues in the Soloraya region. Particularly in this digital era, the prevalence of hate speech has been escalating among the millennial

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<sup>31</sup> Islamsantun, "Memperkuat Indonesia dengan Moderasi Beragama," *YouTube*, diunggah oleh islamsantun, 26 Juni 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUte66913V8&t=1478s>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023.

<sup>32</sup> islamsantun, "Tentang Kami," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/tentang-kami/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

<sup>33</sup> Islamsantun, "Memperkuat Indonesia dengan Moderasi Beragama," *YouTube*, diunggah oleh islamsantun, 26 Juni 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUte66913V8&t=1478s>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023.

<sup>34</sup> M. Zainal Anwar, "Kata Pengantar Direktur Pusat Kajian dan Pengembangan Islam Pesantren Nusantara IAIN Surakarta" dalam Abd. Halim et al., *99 Mutiara Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: Literasi Media, 2020), 5.



Muslim generation. This can be attributed not only to the absence of counter-movements but also to the support received by young individuals who engage in hate speech from their conservative parents. Consequently, it is imperative to address this matter seriously by implementing effective measures to combat these movements, actively advocating for the well-mannered and tolerant aspects of Islam in order to enhance its visibility in society.<sup>35</sup>

Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi also drew attention to incidents of intolerance. He specifically highlighted four cases at IAIN Surakarta. These cases involved the rejection of Haidar Bagir's book by certain members of the Sharia Council of Surakarta City and the Indonesian Mujahiddin Assembly, as they believed it promoted Shia ideology. Additionally, the establishment of an Iranian Corner by the Solo Muslim Warriors was also rejected by the Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia Council and the Sunni Muslim Community, as they viewed it as a platform for Shia propaganda. Zulhazmi also mentioned the condemnation of Abdul Aziz's dissertation on "milk al yamin" for its alleged misleading content, as well as the intimidation of IAIN Surakarta lecturers by a mosque administrator in Yogyakarta due to their writings on Islami.co being deemed offensive and false. Zulhazmi expressed his belief that intimidating or harassing individuals or groups for holding different beliefs is detrimental and unnecessary. He warned that allowing such vigilantism to persist could pose a threat to Indonesia's democratic future. Therefore, Zulhazmi suggested that religious moderation be strengthened among educators, in order to cultivate a tolerant and non-vigilant generation of students at schools and universities.<sup>36</sup>

Agus Wedi provided further insights into the issues surrounding college campuses, freshmen, and radicalism movements. Wedi observed that radical groups had significantly infiltrated campuses, targeting freshmen who are in a vulnerable stage of self-discovery. To prevent radicalization and terrorism among new students, Wedi proposed implementing programs within the campus itself. First and foremost, he stressed the importance for all lecturers and staff to strengthen themselves against the influence of extremism, as they have a crucial part in imparting knowledge, wisdom, and character development to new students. Secondly, Wedi recommended enhancing the understanding of national resilience, revitalizing the values of Pancasila, and promoting religious moderation in the campus curriculum. These principles should also be internalized by student organizations. Lastly, Wedi stressed the importance of campuses serving as institutions that inspire confidence and enlightenment in the nation, rather than burdening the state with acts of corruption. By ensuring campuses are free from corruption and the influence of radicalism, their significance and benefits can be preserved.<sup>37</sup>

#### D. Discussion on Islam among Santri-Writers

<sup>35</sup> Anwar et al., "Literasi Islam," 233-249.

<sup>36</sup> Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi, "Intoleransi, Intimidasi, dan Kampus Kami," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/opini/tiga-peristiwa-yang-jadi-momok-intoleransi-dan-intimidasi-di-kampus-kami/>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>37</sup> Agus Wedi, "Mahasiswa Baru, Kampus, dan Gerakan Radikalisme," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/tokoh/mahasiswa-baru-kampus-dan-gerakan-radikalisme/>. Diakses pada 13 Agustus 2023.

As previously delineated, the proliferation of radicalism leading to extremism has permeated the youth population both within the physical realm and the digital sphere. These occurrences possess an adverse potentiality in relation to the harmonious coexistence of religious and national aspects. This particular phenomenon, along with its deleterious potential, has propelled the centrists to introspectively examine and scrutinize their religious encounters during their time at residential schools. In their pursuit, they endeavored to revisit the Quranic sources, hadith, and the archival records of esteemed scholars to unearth the underlying principles of Islamic sagacity and moderation within the tradition of residential schools. These principles are encapsulated within the compendium entitled "99 Mutiara Pesantren" compiled by the centrists, encompassing concepts such as *tawassuth* (moderation), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *musawwah* (equality), *al-'unf* (anti-violence), and *al-muwathanah* (love of the motherland). These principles can serve as guiding tenets for the younger generation in the realm of religious and national life.

Firstly, let us examine the concept of *tawassuth*. *Tawassuth* encompasses three distinct notions: moral uprightness and fairness, equilibrium in all aspects, and the act of finding a middle ground between two opposing forces.<sup>38</sup> Centrists, in relation to *tawassuth*, draw upon the wisdom of As-Shaykh Musthofa al-Ghalayini as presented in his work '*Idhotu al-Nasyi'in: Kitab Akhlaq wa Adnan wa Ijtima'*'. Specifically, three notable quotes are referenced: 1) "*Strive for moderation in all things, and fortune shall befall you;*" 2) "*For those who aspire to achieve greatness, it is imperative to cultivate a mindset of balance (i'tidal). This equilibrium should extend to one's thoughts, reflections, dietary habits, sartorial choices, acts of philanthropy, and indeed, every facet of existence, whether corporeal or intellectual. Such a state embodies true virtue;*" and 3) "*Oh individuals who yearn for glory, the path to happiness lies directly ahead. Seek solace in the pursuit of knowledge, in acts of benevolence, and in the cultivation of moral rectitude. Endeavor to maintain equilibrium in all matters, and felicity shall be yours to behold.*"<sup>39</sup>

Through the aforementioned citation, the centrists extend an invitation to the younger generation to adopt the *tawassuth* approach in all matters. By embodying *tawassuth*, an individual attains a position of nobility and devotion that is of the utmost prominence. According to the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the concept of *tawassuth* is founded upon a balanced and moderate mindset and practice, without indulging in excessiveness in any particular aspect. If this attitude is adopted as a guiding principle in one's life, it will effectively prevent the adoption of any form of extreme ideology.<sup>40</sup> In this particular context, the *tawassuth* approach assumes a critical role in countering the two prevailing ideological currents in society, namely the overly radical right-wing

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<sup>38</sup> Mohamed Mohamed Eman Dwood et al., *Moderat dan Prinsip Kemudahan: Ikhtiar dalam Meluruskan Terorisme dan Faham Takfiri* (Yogyakarta: Idea Press, 2017), 5-8.

<sup>39</sup> Halim et al., *99 Mutiara*, 49, 130 dan 134-135.

<sup>40</sup> Abdul Azis dan Khoirul Anam, *Moderasi Beragama Berlandaskan Nilai-nilai Islam* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI, 2021), 37.

ideologies (such as radicalism, terrorism, and takfirism) and the excessively liberal left-wing ideologies in religious practices. Thus, by embracing *tawassuth*, one safeguards themselves against both the inclination towards extremism on the right and the dismissive tendencies on the left, in matters concerning religion.

Secondly, the concept of flatness or tolerance is of great significance. *Tasamuh* entails an attitude that acknowledges disparities and reveres the diverse array of tribes, religions, races, and groups, also referred to as SARA.<sup>41</sup> With regard to *tasamuh*, the authors cite the sagacious words of Muhammad Nawawi ibn Umar al-Jawi in *Nashaihu l'ibad*: "*Those who exhibit compassion will receive the love of Allah, the Most Compassionate. Love the beings inhabiting the earth and those who are afflicted will reciprocate that affection.*" Similarly, the sage al-Ghalayini, in *'Idhotu al-Nasyi'in*, expressed: "*A multitude of freedoms exist, including individual liberty, societal freedom, economic freedom, and political freedom. A nation cannot remain steadfast unless these four freedoms are upheld*".<sup>42</sup> These sagacious quotations aim to foster compassion within the framework of mutual respect, thereby fortifying the tolerance among the younger generation, particularly in granting autonomy to each individual, including matters of religion and the expression of personal beliefs.

Thirdly is *Musawah*. *Musawah* or equality, is the principle of refraining from discriminating against individuals based on their tribal, religious, racial, group, or social status affiliations. In relation to Muslims, the authors cite the wise words of Rahib al-Hanafi al-Sirjani from *Fann al-Ta'amul an-Nabawi Ma'a Ghairil Muslimin*, stating that "*the inherent nobility and grandeur of the human being is absolute, unaffected by factors such as skin color, race, or religion.*" Additionally, Santri quotes the insightful words of Ali ibn Abi Thalib from *Nahjul Balaghah: Sharah Muhammad Abduh*, emphasizing that "*the genuineness of an individual is measured by the extent of their humanity.*" Via these citations, the writers endeavor to instill in the younger generation the significance of treating every human being with kindness and empathy, irrespective of their tribal, religious, racial, or group associations. Actions should be guided by the principle of humanity, and the more one appreciates the essence and value of humanity, the more sincere their acts of benevolence become, irrespective of considerations such as SARA.<sup>43</sup>

The fourth principle, known as *al-'unf* or anti-violence, entails the rejection of extremism that results in destruction and violence against oneself and the social order.<sup>44</sup> This anti-violence stance is characterized by peaceful behavior and a complete intolerance for acts of violence. In relation to anti-violence, the author references various quotes to emphasize this concept. For instance, Muhammad bin Ahmad Abu Bakr al-Qurthubi stated in his *Tafsir al-Qurthubi* that "*Allah forbids the blood and honor*

<sup>41</sup> Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama Menurut Kemenag* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 1-2.

<sup>42</sup> Halim et al., *99 Mutiara*, 13 dan 143.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, hlm. 45 dan 48.

<sup>44</sup> Azis dan Anam, *Moderasi Beragama*, 62.

*of a Muslim, and evil reproaches against him."* Additionally, Fudhail bin Iyadh in *Siyar A'lam An-Nubala* conveyed that *"By Allah, harming dogs and pigs must not be without truth let alone hurt fellow Muslims."* Finally, HR. Bukhari in *Al-Adabul Mufrad* recounts an incident where the Messenger of Allah was asked to pray for the destruction of wise men, to which the Prophet responded, *"I was not sent as an adulterer, but I was sent as a bearer of mercy"*.<sup>45</sup> Fundamentally, these wise quotations were employed by proponents of centrism to strengthen the bond within Islam, encompassing the brotherhood of fellow faiths (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*), the brotherhood of nations (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*), and the brotherhood of humanity (*ukhuwah basyariyyah*).

Fifthly, the concept of *al-muwathanah* (love of country) is discussed. The lack of interest in one's native land can be observed through the indifference displayed towards national symbols, the unwillingness to safeguard the country from various threats, and the sense of alienation experienced towards fellow citizens. In relation to this affection for the homeland, the santri-writer cites a passage from *Shahih al-Bukhari*, quoting Muhammad bin Ismail al-Bukhari: *"The Prophet once prayed, "O Allah, love us to Medina like our love for Makkah or even more. Make it (Medina) a healthy city and bless its mud (measure) and sha'nya. And move the heat and make it in the Juhfah area."* This statement illustrates the Prophet Muhammad's profound affection for his homeland, as he held both Mecca and Medina in high regard as his birthplace and place of residence. As a means of setting a positive example, it is crucial for the younger generation to also develop a love for their Indonesian homeland. The santri-writers also draw upon al-Ghalayini's statement from *'Idhotu al-Nasyi'in*: *"It is a great honor for an individual who wholeheartedly serves his homeland. He endeavors to safeguard the honor of his nation without concern for worldly positions. He exhibits fearlessness in the face of disdain and hardship in order to promote the glory of his nation, and is even willing to sacrifice his life for the ideals of his nation"*.<sup>46</sup> This quote bestows upon the younger generation the significance of endeavoring to uphold the honor of their nation and being ready to make personal sacrifices, both physically and spiritually, in order to realize the aspirations of the Indonesian nation.

The aforementioned quotations demonstrate that the discourse on Islam among centrist writers was not separate from the discussion on nationality. The values of wisdom that should be advocated and advanced in the religious and national context in order to achieve harmony within the framework of Indonesian pride are moderation, tolerance, egalitarianism, non-violence, and love for one's homeland. An example of how centrists put these values into practice is their engagement with the attendees of the mosque in Soloraya. U.S. Halim (the Director of PPM-PIN 2021-2023) explained that the objective of this activity is to strengthen the bond of *silaturahmi* (fraternal relationships), foster brotherhood, and promote a friendly version of Islam in Soloraya. In collaboration with the Takmir Masjid Soloraya, the centrists have agreed to: 1) consistently propagate a peaceful Islam; 2)

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<sup>45</sup> Halim et al., 99 Mutiara, 69, 100, dan 103.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-148.

reject acts of violence in any form; 3) uphold the values of nationality, humanity, and Islam; 4) foster solidarity with both fellow Muslims and non-Muslims as Indonesian citizens; and 5) reject any attempts to tarnish the image of Islam.<sup>47</sup> On different occasions, the centrists also held a meeting with the Surakarta Society (PMS), resulting in an agreement to collaborate in religious and community social movements aimed at safeguarding national pride and reinforcing brotherhood among the members of the nation, particularly in the face of SARA issues that frequently arise in Surakarta.<sup>48</sup>

## E. The Da'wah of Santri-Writers in the Digital Age

In response to the occurrence of religious extremism among youths in the digital era, the authors have launched an initiative known as the Moderate and Tolerant Islamic Movement. The primary objective of this movement is to disseminate the principles of unity and acceptance in everyday life, serving as a means to combat the escalating problems and movements of radicalism among young individuals both within the physical realm and the virtual world. The tangible manifestations of this well-mannered and tolerant Islamic movement encompass the subsequent aspects:

### 1. Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran (LISaN)

The collaborative program known as Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran (LISaN) is a joint effort between PKPPN IAIN Surakarta, Wahid Foundation Jakarta, and the Kurikulum, Sarana, Kelembagaan dan Kesiswaan (KSKK) Madrasah Kementerian Agama RI. The aim of this program is to support millennial Muslim groups at the Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas (SLTA) level and students of Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam (PTKI) in promoting the values of tolerance and tolerance in their daily lives. This initiative encompasses both offline and online activities and seeks to counter the rise of intolerance, radicalism, extremism, and hate speech, particularly among young people in Soloraya, both in real life and in cyberspace.<sup>49</sup>

The LisaN program, also known as LiSAN Santri Camp, took place at Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti Klaten. It attracted young participants ranging from school/madrasah level to college, who engaged in a diverse range of activities. Firstly, there was a focus on the literacy of the kitab kuning, which aimed to revive the values learned in boarding schools and ensure their continuation among the millennial generation. This would enable these values to serve as guiding principles in life. Secondly, participants embarked on a pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Mbah

<sup>47</sup> Islamsantun, "Takmir Masjid Solo Raya Deklarasikan Komitmen Kebangsaan dan Islam Rahmah," *dalam* <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/takmir-masjid-solo-raya-deklarasikan-komitmen-kebangsaan-dan-islam-rahmah/>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>48</sup> Islamsantun, "Kunjungan Silaturahmi PKPPN dengan Perkumpulan Masyarakat Surakarta," *dalam* <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/kunjungan-silaturahmi-pkppn-dengan-perkumpulan-masyarakat-surakarta/>. Diakses pada 28 Juli 2023.

<sup>49</sup> Islamsantun, "Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran," *YouTube*, diunggah oleh Islamsantun, 9 Februari 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwdPZxbkFAE>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023. Lihat pula Abd. Halim, "Relasi dan Kontestasi Agama, Internet dan Media Sosial," *dalam* <https://islamsantun.org/opini/relasi-dan-kontestasi-agama-internet-dan-media-sosial/>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023.

Liem' to connect with the historical origins of the famous phrase "NKRI Harga Mati" and to instill a sense of nationalism among the participants. Lastly, there were workshop activities that divided the participants into three pillars: mass media literacy, social media literacy, and digital literacy. These workshops provided training in producing various media products such as quotes, memes, and short videos, which were then utilized to promote a polite and tolerant interpretation of Islam in the online sphere.<sup>50</sup>

Fourth, The pocketbook "99 Mutiara Pesantren" represents a form of literacy. As previously mentioned, this particular pocketbook was created by individuals who follow a centrist ideology, one that embodies the principles of Islamic wisdom and moderatism. These principles are encapsulated in 99 quotes of the day, which are derived from the Qur'an, hadith, and numerous classical scholarly texts commonly known as kitab kuning. Thematically, these quotes pertain to ethics in relation to oneself and others, the ethics of preaching, community ethics, morality towards non-Muslims, the prohibition of wrongdoing, the importance of keeping one's word, brotherhood, freedom of expression, and love for one's homeland. Moreover, these quotes are showcased in a lesser-known language that is not easily graspable, notably for readers of the millennial generation. In essence, this pocketbook serves as a tool for individuals to express and promote the values of a well-mannered, friendly, and tolerant form of Islam.

According to Yenny Zannuba Wahid, the contents of the pocket book mentioned above by PKPPN serve as evidence of the abundant wealth of knowledge and principles embedded in the Islamic boarding school tradition. The inclusion of values such as tolerance and compassion in these kitab kuning is crucial not only for students, but also for individuals without a boarding school background as they navigate through life. Additionally, promoting these values can help dispel the misconceptions often associated with news stories about certain Muslims who engage in extremist and intolerant behaviors. In the midst of a growing trend towards rigid and uncompromising forms of Islamism, the wisdom and moderation found within the boarding school tradition must be emphasized. Thus, this pocket book plays a vital role in fostering religious tolerance among the younger generation.<sup>51</sup>

Fifthly, the intention is to consecrate the participants as ambassadors of LiSAN. In their role as LiSAN ambassadors, their dedication lies in the dissemination of the notion of a considerate and tolerant Islam in their everyday lives, both online and offline, encompassing educational institutions, campuses, and communities. As an expression of unity, the LiSAN ambassadors have formulated a declaration that encompasses five fundamental points. These points include: 1) The disapproval of utilizing religion as a tool for spreading love speech; 2) The demotion of Islam within

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<sup>50</sup> Anwar et al., "Literasi Islam," 239-241. Lihat pula Islamsantun, "Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran," *YouTube*, diunggah oleh Islamsantun, 9 Februari 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwdPZxbkFAE>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023.

<sup>51</sup> Yenny Zannuba Wahid, *Kata Pengantar Direktur Wahid Foundation* dalam Halim et al., *99 Mutiara Pesantren*, 9-11.

society and on social media platforms; 3) The encouragement of peace within nations and states; 4) The inhibition of harmony and brotherhood among individuals; and 5) The weakening of the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) based on the principles of Pancasila.<sup>52</sup>

The LisaN program strives to establish a vibrant and influential presence in the public domain, primarily led by the millennial generation, as a countermeasure against radical-extremist ideologies and movements. Furthermore, it aims to attract as many young individuals from this generation as possible, encouraging active engagement in advocating for a polite and tolerant Islamic movement, particularly within the Soloraya region.<sup>53</sup> Through the LiSAN program, the proponents seek to imbue Soloraya with an image of moderate and well-behaved Islam. Through LiSan, they aspire for Solo, as the epitome of Javanese culture, to be a city that has given rise to numerous generations of respectful Muslims, who possess an unwavering commitment to disseminating the values of civility across diverse locales.

## 2. Dissemination of the Gentle and Tolerant Islamic Movement in Public Space (Offline)

From 2018 to 2023, the propagation of the refined and accepting Islamic movement has been implemented through diverse endeavors in both public spaces accessible to all (exterior buildings) and public spaces confined to a select group (interior buildings). The propagation of the refined and accepting Islamic movement in public spaces accessible to all was executed by LiSAN ambassadors during Solo's car-free day. They engaged in a campaign by distributing stickers and donning T-shirts adorned with the hashtag #waniuripwanisantun. Anwar expressed that the purpose of this campaign is to ensure that public spaces are not solely permeated by intolerant elements, but also include elements that are enjoyable, joyful, and cultivate good manners in individuals. The hashtag #waniruiipwanisantun is promoted to encourage everyone who aspires to live to also embrace proper conduct. Apart from Solo's car-free day, dissemination efforts were also undertaken during the Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) activity by students from IAIN Surakarta in Karanganyar, employing the hashtag #IAINSurakartaKampusSantun. This hashtag is intended to acquaint the village community with the fact that the IAIN Surakarta campus actively advocates for a courteous and accepting form of Islam.<sup>54</sup>

The dissemination of polite and tolerant Islamic movements in enclosed public areas has been conducted through a range of activities at the local, national, and international levels. At the local level, these activities include 1) Pengenalan Budaya Akademik Kampus (PBAK) IAIN Surakarta 2018, which was characterized by the motto "Tauladan SANTUN (Shaleh, Akademik, Nasionalis, Toleran, Unggul dan No Hoax);"<sup>55</sup> 2) PBAK IAIN Surakarta 2019, themed "Menyebarkan Islam yang Ramah," with the objective of nurturing a sense of religious devotion and patriotism in a respectful

<sup>52</sup> Anwar et al., "Literasi Islam," 240-241.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, hlm. 244.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, hlm. 243.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, hlm. 242.

manner, and developing a group of individuals capable of promoting a friendly and polite Islam;<sup>56</sup> 3) the screening of the film "Wani Urip Wani Santun," produced by PKPPN, in the millennial discussion forum "Merajut dan Memperkokoh Nilai-nilai Kebangsaan dan Keagamaan;"<sup>57</sup> 4) the workshop on "Simpul Media Sosial dan Digital" organized by PKPPN, which aims to provide education and strategies to the younger generation in order to combat misinformation and create anti-misinformation memes on social media;<sup>58</sup> 5) the book surgery event "Saring Sebelum Sharing" by PKPPN at IAIN Surakarta, aimed at enhancing the ability of millennials to discern and counter misinformation on social media;<sup>59</sup> 6) the "Safari Ramadhan: Santri untuk Perdamaian" event organized by PKPPN at Graha IAIN Surakarta, where the values of solidarity, unity, and peace are spread among santri in Soloraya;<sup>60</sup> 7) the book discussion on "Membongkar Janji Manis ISIS" by Didik Novi Rahmanto, which seeks to strengthen religious moderation on campus and protect the campus community from radical and intolerant ideologies;<sup>61</sup> 8) the BISMA (Barisan Islam Santun dari Masjid) Writing Workshop on Campus, which aims to promote religious moderation practices by drawing inspiration from mosques.<sup>62</sup>

The nationwide manifestation of a courteous and open-minded Islamic movement can be observed in the endeavors of the Madrasah Quality Improvement workshop organized by PKPPN in conjunction with the Directorate of Madrasah KSKK of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The outcome of this undertaking is the development of the Religious Moderation and Mental Revolution Module designed for Raudhatul Athfal-Madrasah Aliyah Level. This module will be disseminated to madrasahs across the entirety of Indonesia.<sup>63</sup>

The propagation of cordial and accepting Islamic movements on a global scale has been conducted on multiple occasions. Firstly, the International Conference of *Professional Fellows on*

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<sup>56</sup> Islamsantun, "IAIN Itu Islam Agamaku, Indonesia Negeriku," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/iain-itu-islam-agamaku-indonesia-negeriku/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

<sup>57</sup> Islamsantun, "Nobar Film "Wani Urip Wani Santun"," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/nobar-film-wani-urip-wani-santun/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

<sup>58</sup> Islamsantun, "Workshop Simpul Media Sosial dan Digital," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/workshop-simpul-media-sosial-dan-digital/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

<sup>59</sup> Islamsantun.org, "Merayakan Buku 'Saring Sebelum Sharing'," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/merayakan-buku-saring-sebelum-sharing/>. Diakses pada 24 Juli 2023.

<sup>60</sup> Islamsantun, "Safari Ramadhan: Santri untuk Perdamaian," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/safari-ramadan-santri-untuk-perdamaian/>. Diakses pada 28 Juli 2023.

<sup>61</sup> Islamsantun, "PPM-PIN Perkuat Moderasi Beragama dengan Diskusi Buku Memnbongkar Janji Manis ISIS," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/ppm-pin-perkuat-moderasi-beragama-dengan-diskusi-buku-membongkar-janji-manis-isis/>. Diakses 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>62</sup> Islamsantun, "PPM-PIN Adakan Workshop Kepenulisan BISMA: Barisan Islam Santun dari Masjid Kampus," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/ppim-pin-adakan-workshop-kepenulisan-bisma-barisan-islam-santun-dari-masjid-kampus/>. Diakses pada 29 Juli 2023.

<sup>63</sup> islamsantun.org, "Pentingnya Moderasi Beragama dan Revolusi Mental dalam Kegiatan Ekstrakurikuler di Madrasah," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/pentingnya-moderasi-beragama-dan-revolusi-mental-dalam-kegiatan-ekstrakurikuler-di-madrasah/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023. Islamsantun, "PKPPN IAIN Surakarta dan Direktorat KSKK Madrasah Menyusun Modul Moderasi Beragama dan Revolusi Mental," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/workshop-moderasi-beragama-kerjasama-direktorat-kskk-madrasah-dan-pkppn-iain-surakarta/>. Diakses pada 28 Juli 2023.



*Demand program on Religious Freedom and Interfaith Dialogue (PFD-RFID)* held at George Washington University. Nur Kafid was assigned by the PKPPN to represent the conference with several objectives, namely the promotion of the LISAN program, the establishment of a collective commitment to religious freedom and belief, and the enhancement of international networks and cooperation to foster global peace.<sup>64</sup> Secondly, the PKPPN's endeavors in the *Tolerance and Coexistence 2.0 Forum* in Thailand aimed to revive the original purpose of social media for the betterment of humanity and constructive social engagement while disseminating the principles of peace and tolerance.<sup>65</sup> Lastly, the PKPPN participated in the Seminars International Forum of MABIMS (Menteri-menteri Agama Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, dan Singapura) held in the Bintaro Area, with the objective of exchanging experiences regarding policies and strategies to strengthen Wasathiyah of Islam and share good practices in madrasah management.<sup>66</sup>

### 3. Dissemination of the Polite and Tolerant Islamic Movement in Virtual Space (Online)

From March 2019 onwards, the PKPPN organization has initiated the launch of the website [islamsantun.org](https://islamsantun.org). This particular Islamic website has been established as a subsequent step to the Lisan program and aims to serve as a reliable guide for Islamic knowledge, emphasizing the significance of moderate principles and conduct in religious practices. Besides, it is assumed that this website will function as a valuable resource for readers, particularly the millennial and Gen Z demographics who actively include social media into their daily routines.<sup>67</sup>

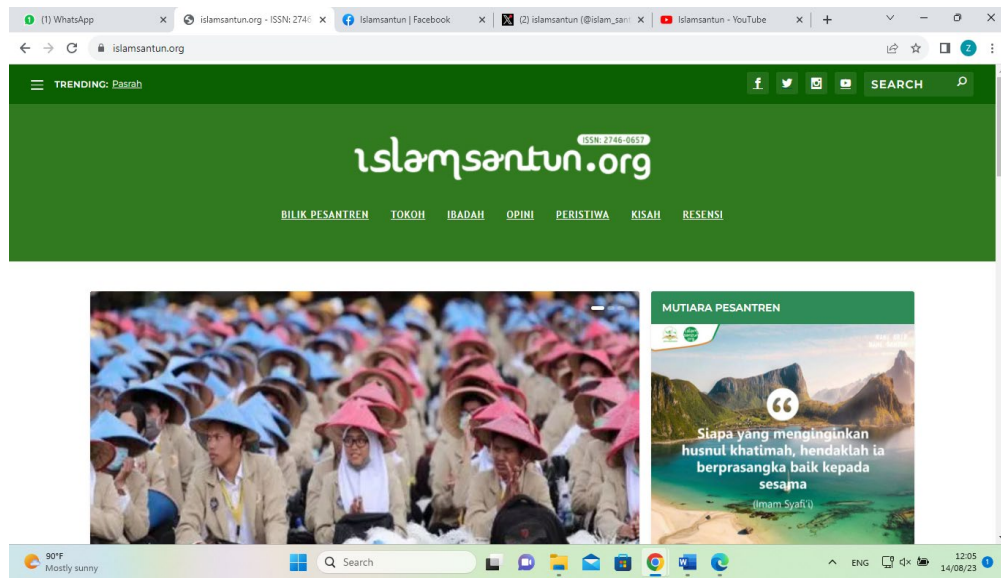
<sup>64</sup> Islamsantun, "LISAN", Model Kampanye Moderasi Beragama di Era Digital," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/bilik-pesantren/lisan-model-kampanye-moderasi-beragama-di-era-digital/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023; islamsantun, "PKPPN IAIN Surakarta Hadiri Konferensi Kebebasan Beragama di Amerika Serikat," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/pkppn-iain-surakarta-menghadiri-konferensi-kebebasan-beragama-di-amerika-serikat/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

<sup>65</sup> M. Zainal Anwar, "PKPPN IAIN Surakarta Hadiri Forum Tolerance & Coexistence 2.0 di Thailand," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/pkppn-iain-surakarta-hadiri-forum-tolerance-coexistence-2-0-di-thailand/>. Diakses pada 28 Juli 2023.

<sup>66</sup> Islamsantun, "PKPPN Hadiri Forum MABIMS: LISAN, Salah Satu Good Practices Diseminasi Islam Washathiyah," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/pkppn-hadiri-forum-mabims-lisan-salah-satu-good-practices-diseminasi-islam-wasathiyah/>. Diakses pada 28 Juli 2023.

<sup>67</sup> Islamsantun, "Tentang Kami," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/tentang-kami/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023; lihat pula islamsantun, "Lunching Website [islamsantun.org](https://islamsantun.org)," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/peristiwa/lauching-website-islamsantun-org/>. Diakses pada 27 Juli 2023.

Picture 1: The website appearance of *islamsantun.org*.



The website *islamsantun.org* offers a diverse range of sections including *bilik pesantren*, *tokoh*, *ibadah*, *opini*, *peristiwa*, *kisah* dan *resensi*. *Bilik pesantren* provides descriptions of various aspects of the Islamic boarding school environment, such as learning experiences and unique aspects of this educational setting. *Tokoh* section offers explanations of influential individuals, both local and national, and highlights their contributions to the community. The *ibadah* section delves into the *fiqh* of worship, addressing questions and providing answers regarding specific laws. The *opini* section presents insightful reviews on current societal issues, exploring the pros and cons of discourse in areas such as social, economic, cultural, political, and educational domains. It also maintains a critical stance while offering considerate viewpoints and attitudes. The *peristiwa* section features written pieces on a variety of activities, including those related to education, social engagement, and community initiatives undertaken by individuals and specific organizations for the betterment of society. The *kisah* section presents thought-provoking reviews of inspiring narratives derived from personal experiences or centered around notable individuals. These stories aim to impart educational, moral, and motivational messages. Lastly, the *resensi* section offers critiques of books with Islamic themes, as well as those focused on nationalities, the "kitab kuning"s, and contemporary kitab.<sup>68</sup>

By means of the aforementioned categories, *islamsantun.org* enables authors to construct an opposing narrative to the conservative factions or radical preachers within the Islamic discourse. Thus, the published writings also encompass numerous depictions of Islamic moderation and unity in the communal sense. As of this investigation, *islamsantun.org* has amassed 240 contributors and 1,573 posts. These contributors hail from a diverse array of backgrounds, including student college, educators, lecturers, researchers, cultural practitioners, artists, literati, journalists, as well as

<sup>68</sup> *Islamsantun*, "Panduan," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/panduan/>. Diakses pada 13 Agustus 2023.

members of the santri, ustad, and Islamic boarding school nursing community, alongside the general public.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to the website *islamsantun.org*, the dissemination of the concept of courteous and accepting Islam is also carried out through various social media platforms affiliated with *Islamsantun*. These platforms contain YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The YouTube channel, *Islamsantun*, was established in February 2019. As of August 14, 2023, the channel has garnered 994 subscribers and has uploaded 21 videos, which have been viewed 11,708 times. The Facebook page (@*Islamsantun*) has been active since March 2019 and has amassed over 2.2 thousand friends. The Instagram account (@*islamsantun*) has been active since May 2019 and has accumulated 1,168 followers. Furthermore, the Twitter account (@*islam\_santun*) has attracted 531 followers and has published 1,589 posts.<sup>70</sup>

As an extension of the *Islamsantun.org* platform, these social media channels, specifically YouTube (@*Islamsantun*), Instagram (@*islamsantun*), Facebook (@*Islamsantun*), and Twitter (@*islam\_santun*), are not expected to function as channels for disseminating Islamic knowledge that emphasizes moderate principles and religious etiquettes. Provided herein are several illustrations of the videos that have been shared on the *Islamsantun* social media channels.

Table 1: YouTube videos (@*Islamsantun*) and the messages within them.

Video's Title	Messages Contained In The Video
#SalamForum-RERESIK <sup>71</sup>	Displaying the countenance of tolerance amongst the devout in Solo
Aku <i>Nggak</i> Mau Dipanggil Encik <sup>72</sup>	Manifesting a narrative of concord amidst the myriad of inhabitants in Kliwon Market, Solo City
Kiat Merawat Kerukunan Menurut Kiai Dian Nafi' <sup>73</sup>	The significance of upholding harmony amidst the multifariousness of the Indonesian populace.
Merawat Bangsa dan Negara ala Pangeran Sambernyawa <sup>74</sup>	The pivotal Tri Darma (three teachings) of Prince Sember Nyowo are inculcated within the framework of national and state existence, namely <i>wulan sarira hang roso wani</i> (the consciousness to continuously engage in self-reflection), <i>kudu melu handarbeni</i> (the consciousness of obligation towards the nation), and <i>hangrungkepi</i> (the consciousness to perpetually preserve national identity and pride).

<sup>69</sup> *Islamsantun*, "Penulis," dalam <https://islamsantun.org/author/>. Diakses pada 14 Agustus 2023.

<sup>70</sup> Lihat Channel YouTube *Islamsantun* dalam <https://www.youtube.com/@Islamsantun/videos>; akun Facebook (@*Islamsantun*) dalam <https://web.facebook.com/islamsantunorg.islamsantunorg/about>; akun Instagram (@*islamsantun*) dalam [https://www.instagram.com/islamsantun\\_/](https://www.instagram.com/islamsantun_/); dan akun Twitter (@*islam\_santun*) dalam [https://twitter.com/islam\\_santun](https://twitter.com/islam_santun). Diakses pada 14 Agustus 2023.

<sup>71</sup> *Islamsantun*, "#SalamForum-RERESIK," YouTube, diunggah oleh *Islamsantun*, 24 Maret 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KhggMDIEkow&t=102s>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2023.

<sup>72</sup> *Islamsantun*, "Aku *Nggak* Mau Dipanggil Encik," YouTube, diunggah oleh *Islamsantun*, 28 Januari 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcnfBXLHF3Y>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2023.

<sup>73</sup> *Islamsantun*, "Kiat Merawat Krukunan Menurut Kiai Dian Nafi'," YouTube, diunggah oleh *Islamsantun*, 4 Maret 2022, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTIjHEDg\\_G0&t=3s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTIjHEDg_G0&t=3s). Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2023.

The values encapsulated in Instagram (@islamsantun), Facebook (@Islamsantun), Twitter (@islam\_santun), and the website islamsantun.org are essentially identical. Each platform serves as a conduit for centrist writers to advocate for the principles of moderation and religiosity. Their aim is to inundate the public sphere of social media with affable and tolerant creative content, promoting messages of benevolence. This undertaking is pursued in response to the widespread occurrence of hate speech, false information, lack of tolerance, radicalism, and extremism on social media platforms. By doing so, the youth, who constitute the largest demographic of social media users in Indonesia, can be shielded from these detrimental narratives.

## F. Conclusion

The initiation of the centrist-writer initiative commenced in 2017 by means of the establishment known as Pusat Kajian and Pengembangan Pesantren Nusantara (PKPPN), which has since undergone a name change to Nusantara Islamic Society and Education Center (PPM-PIN) UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta. This establishment provides a platform for centrists to coordinate and collaborate in conducting research on the principles and teachings of boarding schools that can be incorporated into madrasahs, schools, and Islamic colleges. Additionally, the establishment serves as a platform for writers to advocate for the values of amicable, courteous, and tolerant Islam, as a means to counteract religious radicalism and other related matters such as intolerance, hate speech, misinformation, extremism, and terrorism that are prevalent among the youth in Soloraya amidst the digital era.

The expansion of intolerance, hate speech, hoaxes, radicalism, extremism, and terrorism among the younger generation in the digital era presents an unlikely danger to the coexistence of religious and national life. In response, centrist individuals have extensively explored Islamic principles of wisdom and moderation, such as *tawassuth* (moderation), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *musawwah* (equality), *al-'unf* (non-violence), and *al-muwathanah* (patriotism), as derived from the Qur'an, hadith, and kitab kuning that are widely studied at Islamic boarding schools. These values function as an instructive framework for the younger generation, allowing them to uphold the balance between their religious beliefs and national identity. Centrist writers in the digital age are driven by these values, and they have initiated a movement known as the Manners and Tolerant Islamic Movement. This movement is embodied in the program called Literasi Islam Santun dan Toleran (LiSAN), which aims to disseminate the values of tolerance and compassion in daily life, both offline and online, as a means to counter the rising tide of radicalism and extremism among young people. The dissemination of these polite and tolerant Islamic movements takes place in various offline public spaces, including both open and closed venues, and encompasses a wide range of activities. Furthermore, the distribution exertions stretch to online platforms such as the websites islamsantun.org, YouTube (@Islamsantun),

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<sup>74</sup> Islamsantun, "Merawat Bangsa dan Negara ala Pangeran Sambernyowo," YouTube, diunggah oleh Islamsantun, 25 Februari 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SF1JBnUGQU8>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2023.

Instagram (@islamsantun), Facebook (@Islamsantun), and Twitter (@islam\_santun). These online media platforms serve as valuable resources for Islamic knowledge, emphasizing moderate values and religious decorum, and aim to shield young individuals from the influence of radical ideas, extremism, terrorism, as well as various forms of intolerance, hate speech, and misinformation that pervade both the physical world and cyberspace.

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