



## Religious Narratives on Social Media in Shaping the Diversity Attitude of Millennial Generation

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### Abstract

This research is motivated by the phenomenon of using social media, especially Twitter, which radical groups use to spread their teachings that clash between religion and diversity. The author tries to analyze the activities of the Twitter account @AlissaWahid, which counters narratives against radical teachings on Twitter with the message of peaceful Islam, Islam rahmatan lil alamin, and Islam that respects differences. As a result, each message posted on Twitter receives a response from followers of the @AlissaWahid account. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a content analysis approach. Data will be collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The purpose of this research is to see and explain Alissa Wahid's behavior or activities in spreading the message of peaceful Islam and respect for diversity. In addition, the author also wants to know whether the content and messages uploaded to his Twitter account are able to shape the attitudes towards diversity of the millennial generation.

**Keywords:** Social Media, Twitter, Diversity, Millennial Generation

*Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh fenomena penggunaan media sosial, khususnya Twitter, yang digunakan oleh kelompok radikal untuk menyebarkan ajarannya yang membenturkan agama dan keberagaman. Penulis mencoba menganalisis aktivitas account Twitter @AlissaWahid yang meng-counter narasi-narasi yang melawan ajaran radikal di Twitter dengan pesan Islam yang damai, Islam yang rahmatan lil alamin, dan Islam yang menghargai perbedaan. Hasilnya, setiap pesan yang diposting di Twitter*

*mendapatkan respon dari para pengikut account @AlissaWahid. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan analisis isi. Data akan dikumpulkan melalui observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk melihat dan menjelaskan perilaku atau aktivitas Alissa Wahid dalam menyebarkan pesan Islam yang damai dan menghargai keberagaman. Selain itu, penulis juga ingin mengetahui apakah konten dan pesan yang diunggah ke dalam account Twitternya mampu membentuk sikap keberagaman generasi milenial.*

**Kata Kunci:** Media Sosial, Twitter, Kebhinekaan, Generasi Milenial

## INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary digital landscape, social media platforms serve as critical arenas for the exchange of ideas, opinions, and narratives that significantly influence societal norms and values. Among the diverse range of content disseminated through these platforms, religious narratives are particularly noteworthy, as they can shape individual attitudes and collective perceptions regarding diversity and tolerance. In Indonesia, a country characterized by its rich tapestry of cultures and religions, the impact of social media on the attitudes of the millennial generation has emerged as an area of growing scholarly interest. This paper specifically examines the role of Account @AlissaWahid's Twitter account in shaping attitudes towards diversity among millennials, focusing on her religious narratives that advocate for pluralism and social harmony. The relevance of examining social media as a medium for promoting religious narratives is underscored by the increasing prevalence of digital communication tools in the lives of young people. According to a study by Budirahayu et al. (2018), the use of social media among Indonesian youth correlates with enhanced multicultural values, suggesting that such platforms can be instrumental in fostering tolerance and understanding across diverse religious communities (Budirahayu et al., 2018). Account @AlissaWahid, as a prominent public figure, epitomizes the potential for social media to convey compelling religious narratives that resonate with millennials seeking guidance and meaning amid the complexities of modern society.

Social media provides an accessible and interactive forum for users to articulate their beliefs, share experiences, and engage in discussions, thus creating a collective discourse on critical societal issues. Lim (2016) posits that users' attitudes toward social media significantly influence their perceptions of content attributes, thereby affecting their willingness to engage with that content (Lim, 2016). In this context, the narratives shared by Account @AlissaWahid on her Twitter account may cultivate positive attitudes toward diversity among her followers, leading to an increased willingness to embrace pluralism within Indonesian society.

The millennial generation's active engagement with social media is not merely a passive consumption of information but also reflects their values and social competencies. As highlighted by researchers such as Davis (1989), the alignment of social media usage with users' values can enhance their openness to diverse perspectives (Salam et al., 2021). This is particularly pertinent in Indonesia, where societal discord often stems from misinterpretation and intolerance among different religious groups. The work of Nugroho and Nawawi (2023) further emphasizes the necessity of managing religious differences to foster social harmony, noting that proactive engagement in tolerance-building initiatives is essential for societal progress (Huang, 2015).

A growing body of research corroborates the assertion that exposure to positive narratives and role models enhances individuals' attitudes toward diversity. For instance,

studies have shown that narratives that focus on acceptance and understanding can foster a more inclusive outlook among young individuals (Nugroho & Nawawi, 2023; Jayaseelan et al., 2020). By cultivating an environment in which diverse perspectives are celebrated, figures like Account @AlissaWahid can effectively contribute to reshaping the prevailing attitudes of millennials towards one another, regardless of religious or cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the dynamic nature of social media allows for rapid dissemination and amplification of messages, making it an ideal platform for advocacy and social change. As young people increasingly position themselves as content creators, their engagement with positive religious narratives serves not only as a catalyst for personal change but also as a vehicle for influencing broader societal trends (Nunkoo et al., 2020). The findings of Azkiah and Hartono (2023) underscore the potency of social media in shaping consumer attitudes, suggesting that similar principles can be applied to the domain of religious narratives and social attitudes (Sulaiman et al., 2015).

This study aims to critically analyze the religious narratives presented by Account @AlissaWahid on her Twitter account and the implications of these narratives on the attitudes of Indonesian millennials toward diversity. By exploring the intricate relationships between social media engagement, religious messaging, and societal attitudes, this research will contribute to the understanding of how digital platforms can promote inclusivity and tolerance in a multi-religious society.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study employs a qualitative research methodology, with a particular focus on content analysis of the Twitter narratives shared by Alisa Wahid. The objective of this research is to gain insights into how Wahid's religious narratives contribute to shaping attitudes toward diversity among the millennial generation in Indonesia. The utilisation of qualitative content analysis facilitates an in-depth exploration of the themes, symbols and messages embedded within the tweets under scrutiny, thereby engendering a rich understanding of how these narratives resonate with the audience.

The initial phase of the qualitative content analysis entailed the selection of a pertinent sample of tweets from Alisa Wahid's Twitter account. The present sample was selected to encompass a wide range of topics and discussions that she had engaged in over time, particularly those that relate directly to themes of diversity and religious tolerance. By analysing a diverse array of tweets, the research aims to capture the multifaceted nature of her narratives and the different contexts in which they are presented.

In preparation for the analysis, the selected tweets were collected and organised chronologically and thematically in order to identify key patterns in Wahid's messaging. This organization facilitates the recognition of the evolution of her narratives and the manner in which they respond to contemporary social issues and events. The organisation of textual data thematically assists researchers in drawing meaningful conclusions regarding the social contexts in which such narratives are situated.

The analysis was conducted using a systematic coding process, whereby key themes and categories were derived from the content of the tweets themselves. Themes such as "Social Religion," "Politics and Democracy," and "religious tolerance," were identified as focal points in Wahid's messaging. The coding process was informed by both deductive and inductive approaches, allowing pre-established categories to be refined based on the nuanced meanings and contexts found within the tweets. This approach is in alignment with the tenets of qualitative content analysis, a field which emphasises the significance of adaptability in the categorisation process and the emergence of novel themes from the

data itself. Furthermore, the study incorporated an interpretive lens to examine the implications of Wahid's narratives within the broader societal context. The analysis of social media content is inherently linked to an understanding of the cultural dynamics and power relations that shape how narratives are constructed and received. In this regard, the research sought to interpret the underlying messages conveyed in her tweets, assessing how they promote values of tolerance and inclusivity among her audience.

The data analysis also incorporated an examination of the context surrounding specific tweets, with a focus on public reactions and interactions that occurred in response to Wahid's messages. It is imperative to comprehend the social media environment in which these narratives are embedded, as this offers insights into the dynamics of engagement that can influence the effectiveness of her messaging. Engaging with users through the use of retweets, comments and likes creates a dialogic space that contributes to the broader conversation about religious diversity in Indonesia.

In order to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the findings, the research utilised triangulation by comparing the content of Alisa Wahid's tweets with existing literature on religious narratives and social attitudes within Indonesia. This comparison serves to reinforce the validity of the thematic interpretations and enhances the overall richness of the qualitative analysis. Furthermore, peer debriefing was employed in the research process, facilitating discussions with colleagues about the coding and interpretation of the data to minimise biases and enhance reflexivity.

In summary, the present study employs a qualitative content analysis approach to explore the religious narratives presented by Alisa Wahid on her Twitter account. The research method will entail a systematic analysis of the themes, contexts, and societal implications of her tweets. The objective is to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Wahid's messaging influences millennial attitudes towards diversity and tolerance in Indonesia. This methodology contributes to the study of social media narratives and offers insights into the vital role of public discourse in fostering religious pluralism and social harmony.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Account @AlissaWahid**

In this section, the researcher will explain the profile of Alissa Wahid, the main source in this research. Alissa Qutronnada Munawaroh Wahid, commonly known as Alissa Wahid, is the daughter of the former fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and Hj. Sinta Nuriyah. Alissa is the first child of four siblings who are diligently meeting with the community to educate and assist the community in building a civil society full of peace, tolerance, and mutual respect between one another. Alissa is a psychologist with a Master's degree from Gadjah Mada University. However, Alissa is better known to the public for her work in the social, cultural, and democratic fields. Gusdur's eldest daughter is also active in promoting moderate Islamic values in Indonesia. She has also been a vocal advocate for equal human rights in the community. Currently, Alissa is also involved in developing leadership skills for the younger generation (Kaiciid.org, 2017).

As the National Coordinator of the Gusdurian Network, Alissa Wahid promotes and actively creates forums for interfaith dialogue, democracy, and human rights. This network is mobilized to carry on Gus Dur's thought of building tolerance and respect for minority groups. For him, Gus Dur is the father of the nation, who sets an example for all figures in defending minority groups and strengthening the diversity of the Indonesian

nation. As well as being active in the Gusdur network, Yenny Wahid's sister is also active in Nahdlatul Ulama autonomous bodies. Alissa Wahid is the secretary of the board of the Nahdlatul Ulama Family Welfare Institute (LKKNU). He also often promotes the image of a strong and moderate Muslim family in the life of the nation and state.

Alissa's work campaigning for social issues, human rights, culture, and democracy has made her one of the outstanding women in Indonesia. She became a civil society ambassador for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Indonesia and won the 2016 Women Award from Indonesia Marketing Week. She also won the 2015 Shine-On Award from Good Housekeeping Indonesia magazine. Even KH Wahid Hasyim Alissa's granddaughter dreams of a just and peaceful world order. Gus Dur's daughter is an active advocate for human rights and tolerance between religious communities. So far, Alissa Wahid has adhered to the principle that "without integrity, no one listens; without trust, no one follows" (Akurat.co, 2019).

Alissa is also active on social media, especially Twitter, to spread messages related to politics, democracy, society, religion, humanity, diversity, tolerance, etc. She has been actively using Twitter since 2010 and has 351 thousand followers to date. Alissa is one of the NU women activists involved in social movements and humanitarian issues; among the many active NU women involved in the same field are Savic Ali, Rumadi, Kalis Mardiasih, etc.

### Social Religion

In the period between March and May of 2019, the @AlissaWahid account disseminated a total of 111 messages concerning social and religious issues. The published texts contained messages pertaining to tolerance, peaceful religion, friendly Islam, the protection of young people from radicalism and terrorism, and unity and integrity. The following analysis is presented in this section: On 13 May 2019, the @AlissaWahid account retweeted the @stvchenx account, which had previously mentioned it. The @stvchenx account sought to disseminate information regarding religious tolerance in one of the districts of Surabaya. This phenomenon is exemplified by the following excerpt from the aforementioned post: *Alissa Wahid has expressed her pride in the fact that six places of worship will be located in close proximity at the Royal Residence in Surabaya. We cordially invite you to visit us at your earliest convenience. This situation is reminiscent of the contributions made by the late Gus Dur, who is widely regarded as a pioneering figure in the promotion of religious tolerance in Indonesia.*



Figure 1 Retweet from the @AlissaWahid account to the @stvchenx account

In the context of escalating prejudice, intolerance, and instances of religious violence in multiple regions and countries, the account @stvchenx aims to enlighten the general public, particularly @AlissaWahid, on the existence of a municipality in Surabaya that has initiated concrete measures to confront this issue by establishing places of worship for various religions in close proximity. The @stvchenx account has extended an invitation to @AlissaWahid to visit the area and observe the tolerant attitudes demonstrated by religious leaders in the region. The @stvchenx account noted that the actions taken were inspired by the teachings and philosophy of Gus Dur regarding religious tolerance. The @stvchenx account has expressed the opinion that Gus Dur played a pivotal role in establishing a foundation for religious tolerance in Indonesia. In essence, Gus Dur aspired to a religious life characterised by amiability and tolerance. Each religious community is convinced of the veracity of its own religion, yet does not consider it to be the sole true religion. The true form of diversity is the respect for the beliefs of others. This perspective is indicative of Gus Dur's viewpoint on Indonesia. He envisioned Indonesia as a garden, teeming with a rich variety of floral species thriving in their natural habitat, unencumbered by external pressures or manipulations (Effendi, 2010).

As stated by Gus Dur, as cited in the work of Hidayat & Gaus (1998), the occurrence of religious conflicts in various locations is attributed to the principle of religious exclusivism. Gus Dur's approach entailed a self-critical examination of the Muslim community. The critique articulated concerns pertaining to the trivialisation and politicisation of religion. In relation to this, there is a relevant verse that can be used as material for evaluation by Muslims, namely Surah Al-Fath : 29. In order to comprehend this verse, Gus Dur sought to differentiate between non-Muslims and infidels who fought against Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad. Consequently, there exists no rational basis for discriminating against or fostering hostility towards them, provided they do not engage in conflict with Islam.

Furthermore, the @stvchenx account has expressed a desire to communicate the notion that individuals across the globe should cultivate friendship, establish brotherhood, and respect one another, refraining from the utilisation of religion as a means to perpetrate acts of violence that have the potential to disrupt unity and harmony. The promotion of tolerance and mutual respect for diverse beliefs must not be regarded as the exclusive responsibility of any single group; rather, it is an obligation shared by all collective entities. The erection of six places of worship in Surabaya serves as a poignant reminder of the necessity to fortify tolerance, to forestall the escalation of enmity and hostility between religious communities, and to consolidate fraternity and peace.

The ongoing enmity between religious factions in Indonesia has the potential to engender widespread societal collapse. This situation must be addressed immediately by building bridges of brotherhood and continuing to foster trust and tolerance among fellow citizens. Indeed, Indonesia has historically promoted religious diversity and harmony, providing a conducive environment for diverse religious communities to coexist in unity and peace.

Andrew Graystone demonstrated tolerance and a message of peace when he tried to protect Muslims who were praying at a mosque in Manchester, England. Mr. Andrew's actions went viral, with 43,000 retweets, 118,000 likes, and responses from various groups, especially those concerned with issues of peace and tolerance. Among those who responded was Alissa Wahid from the Gusdurian Network. Her response and appreciation can be seen directly in the message she shared on Twitter below:

*'Thank you, Mr. @AndrewGraystone, for protecting our Muslim brothers and sisters in Manchester. Greetings from Indonesia. Thank you, Mr Graystone, for your kind intent of protection to our Muslim brothers & sisters. Warmest greetings from Indonesia, home to 210 million Muslims (16/03/2019).'*



**Figure 2 Tweet from the @AlissaWahid account**

As illustrated in the image below, Andrew Graystone is depicted standing in front of a mosque, holding a poster that reads, 'You are my friends. I shall maintain surveillance during your prayer ritual.' Andrew Graystone, a non-Muslim, disseminated a message to all residents emphasising religious tolerance. He voluntarily positioned himself in front of the mosque, thus offering protection to Muslims engaged in worship.

In a Twitter post dated 16 March 2019, the account @AlissaWahid expressed gratitude to Mr. Graystone for his actions. The account @AlissaWahid has determined that Mr. Graystone's actions have conveyed a message of peace and tolerance to all religious adherents worldwide, emphasising the merits of coexistence despite inter-religious differences. Indeed, it is evident that all religions impart universal values that instruct their adherents in the manner of conducting themselves as human beings who demonstrate respect for diversity. The @AlissaWahid account posits that religion is a source of peace and goodness for all humanity. It is evident that religion does not advocate for its adherents to engage in acts of violence or hostility.

An examination of Mr. Graystone's actions reveals a congruence with the ideological stance espoused by KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Gus Dur has delivered a substantial number of lectures on the subject of religious tolerance. For him, fostering tolerance constitutes a pivotal process for establishing harmonious relationships among individuals of differing faiths. It is evident that Gus Dur's perspective is significantly influenced by the religious diversity that characterises Indonesia. For Gus Dur, the Indonesian nation would become stronger if its people were to develop an understanding and respect for one another, irrespective of their religious differences (Gusdurian.net, 2018).

In his conceptualisation of pluralism, Gus Dur sought to eradicate religious hatred. According to the aforementioned theorist, animosity is the fundamental cause of hostility. The emergence of hostility is therefore contrary to the established tenets of religious

teachings, which advocate for peace and brotherhood. According to Gus Dur (n.d.), religion is a source of morality that shapes ethics in society.

### Politics and Democracy

It is evident from the observations made by the researcher that, between the months of March and May in the year 2019, the @AlissaWahid account published a minimum of 60 messages pertaining to Indonesian politics and democracy. The texts published contained messages related to the 2019 election constellation, humanistic politics, and the nation-state. The following analysis is presented in this section:

On 18 April 2019, the @AlissaWahid account published a text asserting that the democratic party had reached its zenith with the exercise of citizens' right to vote for presidential candidates. The tumultuous atmosphere that characterised the electoral campaign, and which gave rise to considerable concern with regard to the preservation of Indonesia's social cohesion and multicultural character, must be brought to a conclusion. It is imperative for all Indonesian citizens to adhere to the third principle of the five principles of the Indonesian Constitution, namely the unity of the Indonesian nation. It is imperative to acknowledge that the realisation of the nation's founders' vision, which encompasses the establishment of a just, advanced, and civilised Indonesia, is contingent upon the establishment of unity. The following text was published by the @AlissaWahid account:

"We have reached the zenith of our democratic celebration. The populace has articulated its collective volition. The objective of both parties is congruent: the development, justice and prosperity of Indonesia. Despite the evident differences in their respective approaches and methodologies, it is imperative to acknowledge the potential for fruitful collaboration between scholars from diverse backgrounds. The preceding day, the populace elected the individual to assume the role of the nation's leader, with the objective of facilitating collective progress. The hashtag #Pemilu2019 was used on the 18(th) of April.



**Figure 2 Tweet from the @AlissaWahid account**

The Republic of Indonesia has made history by conducting the largest direct elections on a global scale. The @AlissaWahid account seeks to convey the notion that the zenith of this democratic commemoration has been executed in an exemplary manner. The populace has exercised its right to vote in order to elect a new leader for the Indonesian nation. The narrative under scrutiny places significant emphasis on the respect

that is expected to be accorded to each other's political choices by the populace. Ultimately, the objective under discussion is congruent: the establishment of a just and prosperous Indonesia. Consequently, the individual who is elected to the position will assume leadership of the Indonesian nation for a period of five years, and it is incumbent upon us to provide them with our support in order to facilitate the realisation of their objectives.

The present electoral process was distinguished from its predecessors by its notably high emotional cost, its substantial energy consumption, and its tragic loss of life. The celebration of democracy, which should have been a cause for jubilation, instead gave rise to concerns. This phenomenon can be attributed to the exploitation of issues pertaining to ethnicity, religion, and race by certain actors, with the objective of securing votes and support from the public.

Elections and their results represent merely a fraction of the overall democratic process. Elections, while important, are of secondary significance when considered in the context of instilling democratic values such as civic participation, equality, maturity, and mutual respect for different choices. The pursuit of democratic values is of paramount importance, superseding the quest for power. The account @AlissaWahid wants to explain that the political polarisation that occurred during the 2019 elections is very worrying. Supporters of the two presidential candidates attacked each other with issues far removed from the substance of democracy. Both sides prioritised hatred and abandoned critical thinking in their criticism of each other's presidential candidates. The division even led to the emergence of terms like 'cebong' for supporters of the incumbent and 'kampret' for supporters of the opposition.

Slander, hate speech and fake news have marred the democratic process and made the elections appear shocking. The use of religious and ethnic issues in the political arena has become increasingly worrying. The use of terms such as 'jihad', 'defence of religion', 'rejection of parties that support blasphemy' and 'ulama gatherings' has become a common theme in this year's elections. It is the duty of all Indonesian citizens to ensure that the elections are honest, fair and transparent in order to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia. All parties must actively maintain unity and peace both before and after the elections to achieve harmony in national and state life. This is for the future of democracy in Indonesia.

### **Religious messages in shaping attitudes towards diversity**

The formation of the Indonesian state was predicated on the notion of diversity, encompassing a wide spectrum of racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious identities. This is undoubtedly a matter for which we should be grateful, although Nurcholish Madjid, as cited by Musdah Mulia (2010), asserted that the diversity of the Indonesian populace is not a source of pride. This is due to the fact that no society is truly homogeneous or unitary, as it is inherently characterised by elements of difference. The concept of unity, which can be defined as the absence of diversity within a unified whole, is a notion that emerges in a variety of circumstances

Among the various forms of diversity in Indonesia, those related to religious identity have become increasingly salient in recent years. The veracity claims of each religion have been a catalyst for the development of exclusivity and the establishment of barriers between religious communities. It is noteworthy that a significant proportion of these claims have resulted in acts of violence (Rahman, 2014). This demonstrates that the issues that arise in relation to religion are the need for the growth of tolerance and respect

for each other's beliefs. The relativity of truth in every religion is a form of tolerance that is employed to maintain religious harmony amid diversity. The assertion that all religions are true serves to deter adherents from making unilateral claims regarding the supremacy of their own religion, as religion is, in essence, the product of diverse human experiences and sentiments, thereby implying that every religion embodies divine truth. Conflict between religious groups often arises from a lack of tolerance and respect among different religious communities. Pluralism, therefore, can be regarded as a means of preventing horizontal conflicts and fostering harmony among diverse populations (Legenhausen, 2010).

As articulated by Gus Dur in the work of Greg Barton (1999), the pluralism emphasised by Gus Dur is characterised by its embodiment in both action and thought. This attitude, in turn, fosters the development of tolerance. The tolerance exhibited by an individual is not contingent upon their educational attainment or cognitive abilities, but rather is determined by their conduct and moral integrity. Furthermore, Gus Dur also mentioned that the flourishing of pluralism in society is not only found in the peaceful coexistence and tolerance of people living side by side. It is also imperative to acknowledge the significance of appreciation for diversity. This appreciation can be manifested in the form of a willingness to get to know one another and engage in sincere dialogue, thereby fostering mutually beneficial relationships between individuals (Masdar, 1998). According to Gus Dur (1992), Islam must evolve into a unifying and protective force for diversity, capable of addressing the challenges of modernity. This transformation will render Islam more tolerant, inclusive, egalitarian, and democratic.

The recent proliferation of religious identity-based groups in Indonesia is a matter of significant concern. Buya Syafii Ma'arif, who since 2010 has been urging Indonesians to exercise caution with regard to the emergence of identity-based (religious) political movements, given the potential for such movements to jeopardise Indonesia's future. According to Ma'arif, such movements are characterised by an anti-democratic, anti-pluralistic and anti-nationalistic stance. Historically, identity politics in Indonesia has been rooted in ethnicity, religion, and political ideology. Syafii Ma'arif has expressed concerns regarding the necessity of vigilance against radical and semi-radical groups that employ Islam as a facade. These groups are influenced by fundamentalist and Salafi Islamic movements centred in the Arab world. These movements are seeking the implementation of Sharia law in state affairs.

An interview with Alissa Wahid serves to reinforce Syafii Maarif's statement regarding the strengthening of primordial identities, with a particular emphasis on religion. The results of the interview are as follows: In the following interview, Alissa Wahid discusses the rise in prejudice and hatred, and the methods employed to disseminate these sentiments. She asserts that the narratives and premises used to promote these beliefs are characterised by fearmongering. The employment of fear-mongering tactics has been demonstrated to elicit hatred, thus underscoring the utilisation of emotional manipulation, religious rhetoric, and other identitarian elements that are inherently primordial in nature. Alissa Wahid has asserted that the reinforcement of primordial and religious identities is attributable to sentiments and prejudices that are deeply entrenched in animosity. These groups endeavour to disseminate narratives of fear, with a view to hardening identities, particularly religious ones. It is evident that such conditions give rise to the development of attitudes that are exclusive and intolerant in nature. These attitudes have a tendency to reject and devalue other groups that are characterised by difference.

Peter L. Berger (1999) posits that the resurgence of religion is propelled by two primary factors: democratisation (political freedom) and advancements in information technology. In numerous regions, democratic systems have been observed to facilitate the consolidation of religious entities, exemplified by the resurgence of Hindu nationalism in India, the fortification of right-wing Christianity in the US, the political ascendance of Islam in Turkey, and the Arab Spring phenomenon, which was underpinned by religious-based socio-political movements.

The contemporary period is characterised by a resurgence in religious political activism, which is primarily driven by the consolidation of political theology, that is, the doctrine stipulating the obligation of religious communities to act in accordance with principles of justice when interacting with political authorities. This conviction serves as a catalyst for the integration of moral principles and religious law within the political sphere of the state. Secondly, an interrelated relationship exists between political authority and religious authority. For political actors, the maintenance of positive relations with religious actors is a prerequisite for the consolidation of electoral support. Conversely, for religious actors, proximity to political authority is anticipated to motivate or impact political actors to reinforce the role of religion in public life. The close relationship between these two interconnected actors can be seen as a manifestation of their shared security interests or theological social influence, aimed at formalising religious values in state life (Toft, Philpott & Shah). In 2009, meanwhile, Hearij (2010) advanced the argument in *Politics of Identity and the Future of Our Pluralism* that religion can be employed as a political instrument by a group of political elites to define the meaning of 'being Indonesian' in the contemporary era.

Radical Islamic groups are widely regarded as posing a threat to the very foundations of the state, thereby jeopardising the unity and diversity that are hallmarks of Indonesian society. Conversely, pluralist groups aspire to safeguard and preserve the heterogeneity of society, which has historically served as the socio-cultural foundation of the Indonesian nation. These pluralist groups seek to emphasise the significance of diversity, which must be preserved and nurtured collectively, and seek to delineate radical groups as those that will destroy the diversity of the Indonesian nation.

The results of an interview with Alissa Wahid serve to reinforce Hearij's statement regarding the role of religion in the definition of Indonesia. The following section presents the results of the interview with Alissa Wahid: The demand for the formalisation of Islamic systems is driven by the desire to ensure their exclusivity, thereby catering to the needs of specific groups. This phenomenon can be understood through the lens of two contrasting currents: an inclusive current and an exclusive formalistic current. The following discussion will attempt to explore the reasons why these groups are anti-pluralist and anti-diversity. This is attributable to the fact that their paradigm or way of looking at life is exclusive and formalistic. The subsequent discussion will explore the factors that have contributed to this development. The reason for this is that we were unsuccessful in the promotion of our ideas. One such battleground is social media.

Alissa Wahid asserts the presence of two distinct groups within Islam that are currently in a state of diametrical opposition to each other: the substantive exclusive group and the formalistic exclusive group. It is evident that these two groups are often in opposition when it comes to the promotion of their respective ideas on social media platforms. The substantive exclusive group subscribes to the belief that religion is the source of goodness and inculcates its followers with a respect for differences, tolerance of others, and openness to different groups. Conversely, the formalistic exclusive group

advocates for the formalisation of Islam as a state system. This indicates that the objective of the group is to establish an Islamic state and implement Islamic law. This perspective stands in direct opposition to the cultural and ethnic diversity that characterises the Indonesian people, who are regarded as a heterogeneous nation created by a divine entity. The aspiration to establish an Islamic state would engender an exclusive mindset, rendering the group susceptible to the rejection of other groups.

### **Democracy and Diversity**

The Indonesian nation, a multicultural and multireligious state, has achieved a remarkable degree of unity and concord among its diverse ethnic, social, and religious groups. This is undoubtedly a valuable asset in developing the identity and unity of the nation's children, which encompasses diversity. Moreover, it is imperative to facilitate interaction between groups by opening up access between them. The state is obliged to establish forums for interaction among individuals in society who possess religious, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity (Liebkind, 2003; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Voci, 2006).

An interview with Alissa Wahid reveals that diversity is a necessity that originates from a divine source. The results of the interview are as follows: In the following interview, Alissa Wahid posits that the primary rationale for diversity is rooted in the belief that God created humanity in diverse forms. This assertion is supported by numerous scriptural verses that underscore this concept. Secondly, the concept of diversity, while acknowledging its historical and social implications, is founded on the principle of universal benevolence, emphasising the common human spirit and the inherent dignity of all individuals. From a Muslim perspective, it is believed that God's judgment is based solely on piety.

The interview with Alissa Wahid demonstrates that Indonesia's concept of diversity is rooted in the principles of the Quran. In the book under scrutiny, the divine entity is said to have created the earth and its contents in such a manner that they are distinct and varied. In the context of the divine diversity, all are expected to demonstrate submissiveness and obedience to the established commandments. Furthermore, a set of tools has been provided by God to facilitate respect between individuals, based on the principles of humanity and equality. From a theological perspective, the concept of universalism posits that all humans are regarded equally in the eyes of God. The primary distinction observed is not on the basis of any inherent merit or demerit, but rather on the individual's level of piety or spiritual devotion.

Anderson (2001) posits that the concept of national identity constitutes an imagined community, wherein members are devoid of personal acquaintance, having met infrequently or even being entirely unacquainted with one another, yet their collective existence is perpetuated within the realm of their collective consciousness. In other words, the concept of a nation is not physical. Nevertheless, national identity is not merely a matter of individual perception; it is also a social construct that is transmitted intergenerationally. This phenomenon will invariably exert an influence on the formation of an individual's self-esteem as a member of a nation. A nation that has achieved proud accomplishments has been shown to raise the self-esteem of its members, thus leading them to become true nationalists and patriots (Arts & Halman, 2006).

Conversely, Indonesia stands as the most populous Muslim-majority nation worldwide that has adopted a democratic political system. The development of democracy in the Muslim world is a complex and challenging process. The Indonesian

populace is obliged to amalgamate religious values with democratic principles. One potential exemplar of a Muslim country that adheres to a democratic system is Turkey. Turkey is a secular democracy that functions on the basis of the separation of religion and state. In contrast to the secularist paradigm observed in Turkey, Indonesia's democratic framework does not draw a clear distinction between religion and the state. This is primarily due to the inherent philosophy of the Indonesian people, encapsulated in the first principle of the five principles of the Indonesian Constitution (Pancasila), namely 'Belief in One God'. Concurrently, Indonesia is neither a theocratic nor an Islamic state. It is evident that Indonesia is a 'Cintai-Negara' (Hifni, 2017), otherwise referred to as a 'democracy based on the principles of the five principles of the Indonesian Constitution' (Pancasila).

Hifni (2017) advances the argument that there are several factors which render Indonesia a country worthy of emulation by other Islamic countries. Firstly, Indonesia has adopted the state ideology of Pancasila, a system which utilises the tenets of democracy to foster consensus among the nation's diverse array of political ideologies, religious beliefs, racial groups and cultural traditions. The founders of this nation arrived at a consensus to establish the principles of Pancasila as the cornerstone for the implementation of a democratic system. Secondly, Indonesia's national motto, 'unity in diversity', is a valuable asset in the promotion of diversity within the framework of nationality. It is evident that even prior to the attainment of independence, the Indonesian populace exhibited a profound level of diversity, which was reflected in their daily lives and interactions. The Indonesian people coexisted in a manner that exemplified a genuine and authentic diversity, despite their numerous and significant differences. Thirdly, the culture of democracy and local wisdom has been demonstrated to encourage the acceleration of democratic development. The culture of Indonesian society, characterised by a spirit of mutual cooperation and collectivism, has become the foundation for democratic development.

Muhammad Hatta has asserted that Indonesian democracy is deeply rooted in the traditions of togetherness and mutual cooperation, Islamic teachings that emphasise the importance of justice, and socialism that encourages the growth of a humane national identity. Fourthly, the presence of civil society, which plays an active role in the development of democratic traditions and public civility, while also functioning as a balancing force and a check on the state. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that this approach serves to empower the community in its efforts to prevent horizontal conflicts.

As asserted by Aziz (2017), the fortification of Indonesian democracy is contingent upon the embodiment of the principles of the five principles of the Indonesian Constitution, the promotion of diversity, and the establishment of effective channels of communication with the Islamic community. The founding fathers have made every effort to combine religious values with democracy, which has been agreed upon as the foundation of the state.

Democracy has been shown to engender equality for all members of society and to provide every individual with the opportunity to express their interests and creativity in development. The ongoing validity of the social contract within the state is guaranteed openly, and community participation is protected by the state. The implementation of policy practices within a democratic state is intended to prevent the emergence of conflict, whilst also promoting community participation and equality. Asher et al. (2016: 80) posit that democratic governance provides a framework of policies that address emerging issues.

The interview with Alissa Wahid demonstrates that the existence of differences should not be a cause of division and conflict. Democracy is predicated on the fundamental principle of ensuring that all citizens are entitled to exercise their rights and fulfil their obligations without discrimination. As demonstrated by the Prophet Muhammad at the time of the Constitution of Medina, it was declared that Muslims and non-Muslims constitute a single nation, and that Jews, Christians, and other non-Muslims would be protected from all forms of violence that violate their rights as citizens.

The democratic system is predicated on the management of conflict without recourse to violence, the reconciliation of disputes, and the establishment of peace agreements. While the implementation of authoritarianism may result in the survival of a nation and the assurance of long-term stability, this is often achieved at the expense of human rights. It is the argument of this paper that the democratic system has the capacity to contribute to the realisation of international peace. Democratic Peace Theory posits the belief that democratic countries do not often go to war with other democratic countries. Even within democratic countries, civil wars are rare (Gleditsch and Hegre 1997; Russett and Oneal 2001).

The democratic system adopted by Indonesia is mandated by the 1945 Constitution, one of whose principles is that power resides with the people. Democracy is predicated on the notion that the voice of the majority should prevail. However, in the context of the prevailing majority voice, there are provisions for human rights, equality before the law, and limitations on government power to prevent arbitrary rule. The prevailing sentiment of the majority of elected representatives is to advocate for the interests of minority groups, ensuring that they receive equitable rights and welfare (Bentham & Boyle, 2000). The organisation of democratic elections is recognised as a pivotal component in the facilitation of democratic implementation. Elections are required to reflect the values and principles of democracy, namely that sovereignty resides with the people, and that power is from the people, by the people, and for the people (Sarbaini, 2015).

The state and its associated functions are carried out by an institution through political parties that participate in the democratic process known as general elections. In this particular contest, it functions as a means for the populace to exercise its political authority through the medium of general elections, which are subject to a regulatory framework established by law. The concept of power is transferred from the populace to the lawmakers or the legislature, who subsequently establish regulations that govern the common good. The political equality of the people in determining their choices is of great significance. In medieval times, the principle of popular sovereignty was articulated as *Salus populi suprema lex*, which translates as 'the welfare of the people is the highest law'. The majority of countries worldwide are characterised by heterogeneity, whether in terms of ethnicity, religion or culture. Nevertheless, the establishment of a national identity founded upon diversity is by no means an insurmountable challenge. The endeavour to establish a diverse national and state identity constitutes a pivotal aspect of a nation's progression towards advancement. Conversely, in countries such as Japan, which is characterised by a high degree of national homogeneity, the role of national identity in propelling the nation has diminished (Sasaki, 2004).

In the context of accelerated democratic development, there are indications of a resurgence of primordial identities. In relation to this, Balads Ghosal (2004) states that the phenomenon of democratic development in Indonesia is akin to the opening of Pandora's box. Ghosal's argument is that the dissolution of political constraints has

engendered a proliferation of ethnic and religious conflicts, and even encouraged separatism, thereby engendering political and economic uncertainty.

However, it should be noted that such circumstances are not unique to Indonesia, as analogous situations are also occurring in various countries, particularly those characterised by diverse populations. In a study of the former Soviet Union, Kumar Rupesinghe (1996) concluded that democratisation is paradoxical in nature. On the one hand, it provides opportunities for the realisation of political rights; on the other hand, however, it also triggers the emergence of primordial consciousness, whether in the form of ethnicity or religion. This development is consistent with the perspectives of Mark Juergensmeyer (1993), Karen Armstrong (2000) and Samuel Huntington (1993), who argue that the phenomenon of revival is inevitable, whether in ethnic or religious form. The emergence of primordial identities that are growing stronger is indicated by the lack of representation of certain groups in society, whether in the political, economic or social spheres. Conversely, the fortification of primordial identities has come to the fore as a consequence of the prevailing uncertainty surrounding the prevailing regime's capacity to lead the nation.

The maintenance of national unity and integrity is predicated not only on trust but also on the respect of others, by affording them the opportunity to exercise power and contribute their abilities to the edification of a nation. The provision of opportunities for the participation of others in the development of a nation has been demonstrated to engender mutual trust and respect, thus contributing to the maturation of the country (Boediono, 2007).

## CONCLUSION

Information technology has undoubtedly had a profound impact on culture, behaviour and communication. The shift in communication patterns from conventional to virtual communication has been interactive, without the barriers of time and distance. New media (social networks) such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, and blogs have attracted the attention of people around the world. Social media provides features for accessing and distributing information to the public, as well as creating virtual friendship networks. Mas'udi (2013) confirms that even today, society is increasingly dependent on social media due to globalisation.

Social media is a public space that users can access at any time. Social media users have the freedom to convey messages through content posted on social media. Social media is undeniably democratic, providing a space for users to express themselves and their ideas in the virtual world.

The development of social media has undoubtedly contributed to the dynamism of religious and diversity patterns in society. Social media has the potential to spread religious values and influence people's religious practice. The sheer number of social media users makes it clear that religious teachings must be spread so that the wider community can understand them. It is clear that religious patterns in society will be greatly influenced by the development of social media. Radical groups also use social media to spread their teachings. Radical groups use social media to indoctrinate young people to join their radical groups. The involvement of young people in radical groups will endanger the future of diversity in Indonesia. Radical groups advocate the establishment of an Islamic state and the implementation of Islamic law based on the Qur'an and Hadith.

Radical groups that pit religion against multiculturalism must be addressed by academics, the government and civil society. We must promote messages of diversity to counter radicalism. It is vital that these messages of diversity are conveyed through social media, given Indonesia's foundation on diversity.

One civil society group that is actively promoting messages of diversity and unity on social media is @AlissaWahid. The researcher's observations show that between March and May 2019, the @AlissaWahid account posted 111 messages about social and religious issues. The texts posted clearly conveyed messages related to tolerance, peaceful religion, friendly Islam, protecting young people from radicalism and terrorism, and unity.

The @AlissaWahid account is clear: religion and diversity do not need to be opposed. In fact, religion calls on its followers to always foster friendship, brotherhood and tolerance. Religion should never be used as a justification for violence. This is explicitly stated in the Quran, Surah Al-Hujurat 13, which clearly explains that God created humans differently so that they can recognise one another. Diversity is an inevitability. Accept it. @AlissaWahid stated that when it comes to preventing radical ideology among young people, counter-narratives on social media are not enough. Family education is another effective method. The family plays a crucial role in countering radical ideology among youth. The family's role is clear: to nurture, protect, raise and educate children. A harmonious family is the best defence against radical and fundamentalist movements that are currently targeting young people. Family education is vital in shaping a child's character.

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