
DISCOURSE OF RADICALISM THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The problem of radicalism in Indonesia has become a serious threat played by certain parties. The spread of radical ideology is not only carried out in the real world, but has shifted to social media since the world entered a fairly rapid technological era. Through social media, radical groups not only spread radical understanding, but also invite their users to join them. Therefore, this study explores the dynamics of discourse of radicalism through social media in Indonesia, focusing on novel aspects of interaction patterns, narrative content, an impact on social media users. Urgency of this research is to discuss how radical groups can exist through social media in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the methodology used in this research is descriptive-analytical which based on Herrold Lasswel Communication Theory namely *who, say what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect*. In addition, the results of this research show that the existence of radical groups on social media is influenced by four factors, namely domestic factors, international political factors, cultural factors, and radical group transformation factors. In Indonesia, how radical groups can

exist through social media, has at least four indirect distribution patterns, namely using social media accounts, conducting private chat communications, holding face-to-face meetings, and holding a coaching process for sympathizers and their groups.

Keywords: *Radicalism, Islamic Fundamentalist, Terrorism, Social Media, Users.*

Introduction

Today, social reality is not only related to the social conditions of society that we encounter in real life. However, social reality has significantly developed with the presence of technology. This development is taking place in social media, which includes various platforms such as Google, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, YouTube, and others that can be accessed by users. Through social media, we can at least observe interactions that lead to changes in thought patterns and even actions. For example, radicalism, which often occurs on social media, has altered people's thinking and behavior. Previously, certain groups could appreciate differences in beliefs, but due to being influenced by radical ideologies, they have become intolerant, even resorting to terrorism.

Social reality changes significantly amidst technological development (Kasemin 2015) and the openness of information (Batoebara 2020). These changes are driven by various factors that influence each other (Irwan and Indraddin 2016), such as internal factors (within society) and external factors (from outside society), resulting in various social inequalities like injustice, poverty, oppression, and so on (Suryono 2019). Essentially, social change refers to changes in the structure and relationships within a society (Kusumadinata 2015). This change is interconnected with individuals or groups, even specific structures that either carry out or plan social change. In other cases, there are those who facilitate these social changes, making this transformation occur rapidly in various community activities (Irwan and Indraddin 2016).

These changes bring both positive and negative impacts. While there are positive effects, such as ease of interaction, there are also significant negative consequences, often driven by certain individuals or groups (Saifuddin 2023). Their goal is not only to achieve their hidden objectives but also to create tension in the social order. As a result, society lives in polarization, and they play their roles massively, allowing society to live in hatred, slander, blame, and even violence, both against those of the same faith and those with different beliefs.

As mentioned earlier, one of the impacts of the openness of technology and information is the rampant spread of radical movements carried out through social media. This radicalism is spread in various ways, including the dissemination of hoaxes through written posts, images, and videos containing radical narratives that target certain religious groups (Mustofa 2016). As a result, individuals or groups who become victims of this movement are stigmatized and often face terrorism and threats. As reported by the Brookings Institute, cited by the Center for Cultural Studies and Social Change (PSBPS) of University Muhammadiyah Surakarta, in 2016, over 46,000 Twitter accounts were controlled by ISIS supporters to post violent materials and content aimed at recruiting new followers through youtube, google websites, facebook, and similar platforms (Thoyibi and Khisbiyah 2018). This data shows that the spread of radical ideology in cyberspace is massive, and this is concerning, especially if Indonesian society is exposed to or involved in spreading such ideologies.

Meanwhile, the latest data from the Ministry of Communications and Information (Kominfo) Indonesia shows that internet users in Indonesia reached 63 million in 2023, spread across various social media platforms. Of these, about 95 percent use the internet to access social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter. This data reveals that the number of internet users in Indonesia is significant compared to the global number of social media users, which reached 4.76 billion in early 2023. Based on this, if radical ideologies grow among social media users, it could pose a threat to Indonesia's younger generation.

In Indonesia, facts show the existence of radical movements. Even though in 2022, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) recorded a decrease in the spread of radicalism, this decrease does not mean Indonesia is free from radical movements by certain parties. On the contrary, with the digital world, radical ideologies must be closely monitored as they can grow within social media users through radical account posts. Radicalism in Indonesia takes many forms, from intolerance and radical attitudes to actual terrorist acts. This is no longer just a phenomenon; it has become a real threat that can potentially undermine the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Generally, those influenced by radical ideologies are triggered by certain factors such as domestic issues related to economic, political, and social-religious injustices. Another determining factor is international political power, which plays a role in spreading radical ideas. Those involved in radical movements often have connections, both direct and indirect, with groups outside the country. Additionally, local cultural factors, such as a tendency to be closed off and unable to accept differences, also play a role in the spread of radical ideologies.

One example of the involvement of foreign groups in the spread of radical political ideologies is ISIS in Syria, which has links to radical groups in Indonesia. Groups like Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Indonesian Islamic State (NII), Lasykar Jundullah, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, and other radical factions are connected to ISIS. Through their doctrines, these groups seek to establish an Islamic state, aiming to replace democracy with an Islamic system, considering that anything outside of the Islamic system is considered “*kufur*” (infidel). Another example is a woman who attacked the Brimob Headquarters in Kelapa Dua, Depok. The perpetrator, Siska Nur Azizah, 22, admitted to having been radicalized via the internet and even swore allegiance to ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi through her phone (IKAL 2019). The case demonstrates that the spread of

radical content through social media is massive and structured, as seen in the case of Siska Nur Azizah.

Regarding the factors behind the rise of radicalism, the Indonesian government, in its “Guidebook on Preventing Radicalism in BUMN and Private Company Workplaces”, identifies at least three main factors: domestic factors; international political factors; and cultural factors related to the local cultural condition of society (Suaiib Tahir et al. 2020). These three factors serve as a basis for observing radicalism phenomena in Indonesia.

According to a UNESCO study in 2016, cited by the Policy Research Center for Education and Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, several factors encourage radicalism: “Push factors” that lead individuals to violent extremism include marginalization, inequality, discrimination, persecution, or similar ideologies; limited access to relevant education; denial of civil rights and freedoms; and complaints about other socio-economic and historical conditions (Philip Suprastowo et al. 2018).

From the government's and UNESCO's explanations, we understand that there are many factors behind radical movements. It's not just about religious issues but also important factors like justice, politics, and economics. These factors are inseparable from the rise of radicalism. Those exposed to radical ideologies are at least triggered by these factors. However, it cannot be denied that religion also plays an important role, especially for those who interpret religion in a fundamentalist and textual way. As a result, the spirit of religion, which should bring peace and unity, no longer serves as a means to live peacefully amid social reality's differences.

Meanwhile, according to Dedi Prasetyo, the radicalism phenomenon in Indonesia has become more apparent. Since the arrival of ISIS in Indonesia, the spread of radicalism has grown, influencing society (Prasetyo 2021). Dudung Abdul Rahman also explains that, in the context of Islam in Indonesia, radicalism challenges the mainstream religious understanding followed by

Indonesian Muslims, which contrasts with the radical beliefs of extremists (Rohman 2021).

According to Prihandono Wibowo, the development of technology, accompanied by the free flow of information in the global era, has led Indonesians to increasingly turn to foreign ideologies, viewing them as ideologies to be adopted. One example is the radical ideologies from religious movements that became a trend in Indonesia after the 1998 reform (Wibowo 2014). These ideologies easily spread on social media due to the lack of proper filters for the information being shared.

Furthermore, Mohammad Ridwan explains that the rapid technological advancement has made the phenomenon of radicalism stronger, with propaganda spread through social media that causes some people, especially the younger generation, to sympathize with or even support radicalism (Ridwan 2021). This phenomenon is not a coincidence but involves certain parties who exploit radical issues for their own interests, while social media users without enough capacity to filter accurate information contribute to the spread of radicalism.

According to Nasaruddin Umar, Muslims today face a dilemma with the labeling of extreme actions such as fundamentalists, militants, terrorists, modernists, and even radicals. In this context, we are faced with the complicated issue of explaining the phenomenon of religious radicalism carried out by groups who claim their understanding is the only truth (Umar 2014). Therefore, the Indonesian government, in response to this issue, is working to combat radical movements, particularly by blocking websites that promote radical ideologies. This effort is being made to ensure that people can find reliable information without encountering content that promotes radicalism (Gusti Kadek Sintia Dewi 2022).

Thus, we need to further analyze the issue of radicalism, both conceptually and in relation to the facts of social reality. If not, as emphasized by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), the consequence of radicalism is the justification of political and

ideological aspects that often distort religion, even though religion occupies a sacred place (Humaedi 2008). This is important because by understanding and recognizing the motives and characteristics of radicalism, we can avoid falling prey to the various propaganda involved in radicalism. Radical actions cannot be left unchecked, and strategic solutions are required to prevent the spread.

Genealogy of Radicalism Movement

The use of the term 'radical' has had a negative connotation since it became associated with certain movements involving religious and political aspects (Beck 2015), even though the emergence of the term "radical" itself was originally grounded in philosophical doctrine. However, over time, the term has come to be understood as an effort to attempt to change the ideology and system of a country, or it is also interpreted as a belief or current that desires social and political change (Lubis 2022), particularly in Indonesia. When we look back at classical literature related to philosophy, we can observe a significant shift in its meaning.

Moreover, the term 'radical' now does not only refer to a negative conceptual meaning, but it has also evolved into a separatist movement that desires ideological and movement unity, especially evident in radical groups who engage in radical actions based on perceived injustice. Although it should be understood that not everyone who experiences injustice becomes radical, the fact remains that many parties who face it may tend to take actions, as injustice is one of the indicators (Khosrokhavar 2017). These groups are involved in the social-political struggles of the 17th century (Ritter 1986), even though the path they take is often unethical, prioritizing emotional responses, and sometimes resorting to terror and threats against individuals or groups with differing beliefs. However, in the modern era, especially when social and legal studies were developed separately from philosophy, the term 'radical' began to take on a different meaning (McLaughlin 2012). As a result, the term is often equated

with extremism and terrorism, which carry a much more negative connotation compared to its initial, more positive use (Kazin 2011).

Therefore, it is important for us to delve deeper into the meaning and the relationship between radicalism and philosophy, society, politics, law, religion, and so on. By examining it from various perspectives, we will gain a broader understanding of radicalism. Additionally, this discussion will also explore the history and the radical groups that have been recorded as carrying out their actions in Indonesia. In doing so, we will arrive at the root of the issue of radicalism, which is championed by certain individuals and groups with their various demands and struggles.

Definition of Radicalism

The radical stigma attached to certain groups continues to be a subject of debate, often receiving criticism. Therefore, before passing judgment and labeling a group as radical (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020), it is advisable to conceptually examine the meaning of 'radical' and its application in relation to politics, economics, sociology, theology, and philosophy. This step is necessary to avoid biased interpretations and prevent unfair accusations or slander.

Thus, the following will further explore the concept of radicalism from both etymological and terminological perspectives. Additionally, since radicalism is often equated with extremism and terrorism, these terms will also be analyzed, so that a holistic understanding of radicalism can be formed.

Radicalism from an Etymological Perspective

The term radicalism etymologically consists of the words 'radical' and 'ism'. The term 'radical' comes from the Latin word '*radix*', meaning root or base (Hoad 1996), or referring to the root of a tree (Keith Brown 2013). Meanwhile, 'ism' refers to a belief or doctrine (Thompson 1993b). In English, the term radical is often translated as 'radical' or 'extremist' (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings

2010), both of which carry negative connotations. However, these meanings are also reflected in the Indonesian Dictionary.

In the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the term 'radical' has three definitions: (1) comprehensive and total; (2) demanding drastic change (e.g., in laws, government, etc.); (3) advanced in thought or action (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas 2008). The 'Tesausrus Bahasa Indonesia' defines 'radical' as extreme, revolutionary, and subversive, while its root meaning refers to something fundamental, such as origin, base, or source (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas 2008). This definition, particularly in the political and legal context, suggests that radicalism is no longer simply a philosophical concept but has evolved into a movement aiming for total and systemic change. Therefore, based on these definitions, radicalism can be understood as a belief system that seeks profound changes, implemented in a comprehensive and foundational manner. It also signifies an ideology desiring total transformation, often linked with societal change.

Radicalism from a Terminological Perspective

The meaning of 'radical' has evolved from its original definition, now signifying efforts for fundamental renewal demanding change. This understanding is relatively neutral and does not inherently threaten any group or state. However, because radical movements are often associated with religious missions, especially in Indonesia, such movements may pose a threat if they seek to replace the nation's ideology with Islamic governance, often referred to as an Islamic state. This has prompted the government to take swift actions to prevent and counter the spread of radical ideologies within Indonesian society.

Meanwhile, the term radicalism is frequently equated with extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalism (Faozan 2022), all of which carry highly negative connotations. Thus, it is crucial to understand both their similarities and differences, as not all radical actions necessarily equate to extremist or terrorist behavior. To better understand radicalism, let's review these terms:

Extremism: Derived from 'extreme', which in the Thesaurus is defined as something beyond normal or moderate, radical, and excessive (Thompson 1992a; Spooner, 1998). In the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), 'extreme' is defined as the utmost or fanatical in attitude. When used with the term 'extremist', it refers to someone who advocates for radical and unyielding positions (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas 2008). Thus, both 'extreme' and 'radical' share negative connotations.

Terrorism: Defined as violent actions intended to create fear and achieve political objectives (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas 2008). Combs explains terrorism as a criminal act motivated by political aims, often involving violence and intimidation (Combs 2021).

Fundamentalism: In the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), it refers to a religious movement that adheres to traditional doctrines and opposes modern or liberal interpretations of religion (Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas 2008). Azra suggests that Islamic fundamentalism is part of the broader Islamic revival movement, which seeks to return to the original teachings of Islam (Azra 2016).

From these definitions, it is clear that radicalism, when linked with extremism, terrorism, or fundamentalism, often takes on a negative connotation. However, in other contexts, radicalism may simply refer to a desire for systemic change without resorting to violence or coercion.

Now let's examine radicalism from the perspectives of philosophy, religion, communication and politics, and law:

1. Radicalism in Philosophy Perspective

As previously mentioned, in philosophy, 'radical' has a different meaning than what is commonly understood in society today. One characteristic of philosophy is radical thinking (Mufid 2009). This does not mean violent or extreme thinking, but rather the deep examination of underlying causes and fundamental principles (Waston 2019). In philosophical discourse, the term 'radical' is used to describe a way of thinking that involves probing deeply into the roots of reality and knowledge (Al-Jauharie 2020).

For instance, philosophy teaches radical thinking in the sense of deep inquiry, uncovering meanings from the root causes (Wahyudi 2020). Hasyim Muzadi (former PBNU chairman) explains that radical thinking, in this context, is encouraged, as it is essential for deeply understanding issues (Zarkasyi and Al-Asyhar 2014). In philosophy, radical thought is not inherently negative but is viewed as critical and necessary for deeper insight into problems.

2. Radicalism in Religion

The issue of radicalism in religion is often associated with specific religious groups, including in Indonesia. Some groups are both perpetrators and victims of radicalism due to its stigmatization. Radicalism in religion needs to be examined from a theological perspective because it often stems from a fundamentalist, literal interpretation of religious texts. This can lead to polarization, sometimes even generating hatred toward religion.

Suwito states that religious radicalism can be seen as an effort to change religious and social-political systems through violent means, often justified by a call for 'jihad.' Radical religious groups, driven by a fundamentalist reading of religious texts, pursue such goals, even resorting to terror to achieve them (Suwito and Fauzan 2022). Imam Mustofa et al. suggests that religious radicalism is not the result of errors in religious teachings but rather stems from an inability to understand the true meaning of religious texts. However, radicalism is often mistakenly linked to religion itself, when in fact, it is the misuse of religious ideology for violent and intolerant purposes (Mustofa et al. 2015). Therefore, radicalism in religion can be understood as a movement that justifies violence or extreme actions for a perceived religious goal, often diverging from the true ethical teachings of Islam or any other religion.

3. Radicalism in Communication and Politics Perspective

Radicalism is often a tool for communication and politics, especially when used by political figures to manipulate public opinion. In communication studies, radicalism is an important

issue, particularly in relation to political interests that can polarize society. Effective communicators can influence people's views, especially if they use radical discourse to shape narratives.

In politics, radicalism refers to groups that seek to drastically change social structures or systems. In Indonesia, politicians may use radicalism as a strategy in elections to discredit opponents by labeling them as radical, sometimes associating them with extremist or terrorist ideologies.

Roger Scruton argues that radicalism in politics refers to a political idea that challenges the status quo through radical doctrines. In social science, radicalism is often seen as a movement aimed at social change through violent or extreme actions (Scruton 2013).

4. Radicalism in Law Perspective

In law, radicalism is viewed as a behavior that disrupts societal harmony and contravenes established norms. A radical movement that uses violence, particularly terrorism, is seen as a violation of the law. In Indonesia, radicalism is viewed as a threat to the state, particularly when it challenges Pancasila or the nation's ideology.

According to Muhammad Sadi Is, radicalism in law refers to movements that seek drastic social or political change through violence, actions that directly conflict with legal principles. Indonesian law defines radicalism as actions that threaten Pancasila, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), pluralism, and tolerance, as outlined in Law No. 5 of 2018, which amended Law No. 15 of 2003 on Counter-Terrorism. Thus, radicalism in law refers to actions that seek to change the nation's ideological foundations through violence and unlawful means (Sadi Is 2021).

From the various perspectives—philosophical, religious, political, and legal—radicalism has different meanings and implications. This research aims to examine radicalism as it relates to religious extremism, fundamentalism, and terrorism, especially in the context of social media where radical groups may operate under the guise of religion. Given these

considerations, the next sections will focus on the specific radical movements active in Indonesian social media platforms, seeking to understand their motivations and actions in relation to religious and political ideologies.

The History of the Emergence of Radicalism

The emergence of radical ideologies and movements began long ago, both in the form of thought and action. When we examine historical upheavals, we find that the term “radicalism” was not always associated with the negative connotation it has today, especially in Indonesia. However, with the advancements in both science and technology, radicalism has come to be understood as a threat and a point of contention within all levels of society.

Franz Magnis Suseno explains that we are familiar with the rise of ISIS in Syria, marked by violence. This event triggered political, economic, and religious struggles, creating tensions and actions that were reported in the media concerning ISIS’s behavior (Suseno 2015). As a result, the government made efforts to counter radicalism by shutting down about 22 radical Islamic websites (Muhajarah 2022). Radicalism has not only emerged with ISIS; the world has also been alarmed by various terrorism events worldwide. One example is the Bali bombings, which claimed the lives of both Indonesians and foreigners. This tragedy attracted serious international attention, with many condemning and negatively labeling the perpetrators, who used the name of Islam in their actions.

Another example is the 9/11 attacks in New York, linked to terrorism. This event garnered widespread global attention, as it resulted in significant loss of life in a short period. The victims and their families, in addition to condemning the terrorism, also turned toward anti-Islam sentiments. Such phenomena have led to the negative stigma of radicalism. This label is often applied to extremist groups due to their violent behaviors. This chapter will delve into the historical emergence of radicalism, examining it from both pre-technology and post-technology periods.

The Emergence of Radicalism in the World

Historically, the emergence of radical groups began when certain movements could not accept differences in social strata, whether related to beliefs, attitudes, or actions. As a result, anyone with a differing opinion or belief was met with accusations and slander, often leading to violence. Radical groups are certainly driven by various factors, including political power struggles, economic disparities, and religious doctrines that they believe must align with their interpretation.

In world history, radical movements did not begin within Islam, as often assumed in the Middle East. Rather, radicalism first appeared in Christian uprisings. The term “radicalism” originally emerged in political discourse, coined by Charles James Fox. In 1797, he declared a political movement known as “radical reform” to support a parliamentary election system, which later became a model for identifying movements advocating parliamentary reform (Hariyati 2019). Over time, the term came to be associated not only with political reforms but also with religious groups considered extreme and textualist. This is what has been referred to as the “radical movement.” In other words, the term “radical” has its roots in the 18th century, specifically during the Age of Enlightenment and the French and American Revolutions (Hara 2019).

So how did radicalism emerge historically? Here is a brief explanation:

1). **In the West:** Radicalism first emerged in Britain, where reformers demanded a fair electoral system (Gusti Kadek Sintia Dewi 2022). Charles James Fox introduced the term “radical” in 1797, referring to the “radical reform” movement in the political system. This movement aimed to support the parliamentary revolution of Britain (Hariyati 2019).

2). **In France before 1848:** Radicalism arose among the followers of the Republican Party, advocating for universal human suffrage. According to Britannica, advocating republicanism was technically

illegal, and Republicans themselves identified as radicals. After 1869, a faction led by Georges Clemenceau distanced itself from the more moderate democratic views of Republicanism, and radicals considered themselves the true heirs of the French Revolution.

3). **In 19th Century England:** The English radical group believed that humans could control their social environment through collective action, known as “philosophical radicalism”. Due to the social reform theories rooted in Marxism, the term “radical” came to be associated with Marxists and other supporters of violent social change, a label that did not apply to mere reformists.

4). **In the United States:** The term “radicalism” was used as a heavy insult. In American usage, it referred to any form of extreme political movement, whether left-wing (communism) or right-wing (fascism). However, it was primarily used to stigmatize left-wing ideologies, even though both left and right could be labeled as radical. For example, various youth movements in the U.S. were widely seen as radical because they opposed traditional social and political values.

5). **In the East:** Radicalism emerged with radical Islamic groups like al-Qaeda, ISIS, and the Taliban. Islamic radicalism originates from the intersection of religious ideas and the ongoing social, political, and economic disparities (Muhammad Hisyam 2016).

Based on these explanations, we understand that the term “radicalism” existed long before it was applied to extremist Muslim groups. It had already been a significant issue in the West, particularly among Christians. As Dudung Abdul Rohman asserts, if we trace the origin of “Islamic radicalism”, it was a term coined by the Western press to describe hardline Islamic movements labeled as extremist, fundamentalist, and militant (Rohman 2021). This shows that radicalism is not solely associated with extremist Muslims but is actually a Western construct.

So, how did religious radicalism, particularly Islamic fundamentalism, emerge and come to be associated with negative stigmas? World history notes that after the 9/11 terrorist attacks

on the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon in the United States, which claimed over ten thousand lives on September 11, 2001, radical Islam was blamed for opposing liberal life and being far removed from religious values (Herdi Sahrasad 2017). As a result, the world began to attach the radical label to Islam, particularly to certain groups deemed fundamentalist.

The rise of radicalism in the world has had a major impact on Indonesia. Besides contributing to the polarization of political life, it has also influenced religious life. This is because the origins of radicalism are not rooted in religion but stem from radical political movements in the West (Hariyati 2019). Often linked to particular religious ideologies that lead to violent behavior, radicalism has been stigmatized as a characteristic of some Muslim groups in Indonesia. However, radicalism is a product of the West. As Jan S. Aritonang suggests, the notion of Islamic radicalism is a Western fabrication, part of their conspiracy to undermine Islam and Muslims, not merely a misunderstanding (Aritonang 2004).

Over time, the Indonesian government has used the term “radicalism” to identify terrorist acts claimed to stem from conservative, fundamentalist interpretations of religion. Radicalism, therefore, is considered part of the broader effort to map out groups aiming to replace Pancasila and the NKRI with an Islamic state governed by Sharia law.

The Emergence of Radicalism in Indonesia

Indonesia, as one of the world's largest Muslim-majority nations, has not had a smooth historical trajectory. There have been many protests and opposition movements, often culminating in terrorist attacks by radical groups. The emergence of radical movements in Indonesia can be traced back to the dissatisfaction of Indonesian Muslims with the nation's foundational philosophy (Said dan Rauf 2015). This indicates that radical movements in Indonesia are not a new phenomenon but rather have a long history.

Radical movements in Indonesia began around the time of the country's independence in 1945 (Amin 2020), with significant developments from 1949 to 1962, particularly under the influence of the Darul Islam (NII) movement, led by Kartosoewirjo (Akhyhar Anshori 2021). Historical records suggest that radical movements actually began even earlier, in the early 1800s, during the Padri War (1803–1838), led by Tuanku Nan Renceh and Imam Bonjol. This was more than a radical religious campaign; it caused a civil war (Shihab et al. 2019). The Padri War was a large-scale attack on surau (Islamic religious schools) and tariqa (Islamic religious groups), which not only fought against the tarekat but also burned surau buildings (Azra Surau 2017).

Additionally, radicalism emerged due to the communist movement, beginning with President Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta's refusal to adopt the Jakarta Charter, which called for an Islamic-based state. Instead, they chose Pancasila as the national foundation (Gusti Kadek Sintia Dewi 2022). Sukarno opted to separate religion from the state (Muhammin 2019), marking the beginning of radical movements in Indonesia. These movements did not hesitate to use terror, including attacking religious places like churches. The spread of radical ideologies continued through the New Order era, the Reform era, and the post-Reform era (Muhajarah 2022).

Indeed, from the beginning of Indonesia's independence, some groups wanted the nation to be founded on Islamic law. Since the founding fathers rejected this idea, dissatisfied groups later formed radical movements. These movements became not only protests against the ruling regime but also involved violent actions and terrorism.

In various facts and literature studying radical groups in Indonesia, there are quite a few groups that have been recorded for carrying out actions in the country. These groups are identified in the following table:

No	Name of Radical Group	Year Established	Place Established	Founding Figures
1	Front Pembelaan Muslim	1977	Aceh	Hassan Tiro
2	Komando Jihad (KOMJI)	1970	-	Haji Islamil Pranoto
3	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia DII/TII	1950	Tasikmalaya	Kartosuwirjo
4	Pola Perjuangan Revolusioner Islam (POLA)	1978	-	Abdul Qadir Djaelani
5	Dewan Revolusioner Islam	1980	-	Imran
6	Negara Islam Indonesia (NII)	1949	Tasikmalaya	Kartosuwirjo

Post-Reformation Radical Groups

No	Name of Radical Group	Year Established	Place Established	Founding Figures
1	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)	1953	Yerusalem	Syeikh Taqiyuddin An-Nabani
2	Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI)	2000	Yogyakarta	Abu Bakar Ba'asyir
3	Front Pembela Islam (FPI)	1998	Tangerang	Muhammad Rizieq Shihab
4	Lasykar Jundullah	2000	-	Jafar Umar Thalib
5	Lasykar Jihad	1999	-	Jafar Umar Thalib
6	Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT)	2008	Solo	Abu Bakar Ba'asyir
7	Forum Aktivis Syariah Islam	-	-	-

8	Pendukung dan Pembela Daulah	-	-	-
9	Gerakan Reformasi Islam (GARIS)	1998	Cianjur	Chep Hernawan
10	Asybal Tawhid Indonesia	-	-	-
11	Kongres Umat Islam Bekasi (KUIB)	2010	Bekasi	Harada Nurdin, Sulaiman Zachawerus, dll.
12	Gerakan Tawhid Lamongan	1993	Lamongan	Amrozi, Mukhlis, Ali Imran
13	Ansharul Khilafah Jawa Timur	2014	Malang	Muhammad Romly
14	Jazirah Al-Muluk Ambon	2014	Ambon	-
15	Ikhwan Muwahid Indunisy Fie	-	-	-
16	Umat Islam Nusantara	-	-	-
17	Khilafatul Muslimin	1997	Lampung	Abdul Qadir Baraja
18	DKM Masjid Al Fataa	-	Ambon	-
19	Halawi Makmun Group		Bandung	Halawi Makmun
20	Aliansi Nasional Anti Syiah (ANNAS)	2014	Bandung	Athian Ali M

Based on the table above, the following explanation will discuss the radical groups and movements throughout the history of the Republic of Indonesia, from the early independence period to the post-reformation era. However, it should be noted that not all of the groups listed in the table will be discussed in detail, but only those of particular relevance. The following is the explanation.

First, the Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII), also known as the Negara Islam Indonesia (NII), is a group that openly

declared Indonesia to be a state based on Islamic law. The existence of NII is seen by the state as a radical movement that seeks to replace Pancasila, Indonesia's official ideological foundation, with Islamic law. Based on its name, we can observe that this group explicitly aims to make Indonesia an Islamic state, rather than just applying Islamic values (Sirait 2021). This group was founded by Kartosuwirjo in the 1950s in Tasikmalaya, West Java (Zuhri 2013), and later spread to Aceh, South Sulawesi, and South Kalimantan. DII/TII is an Islamic group that campaigns for Islamic law as the legal foundation and basis of governance in Indonesia.

According to Usman Hadi, Kartosuwirjo was the key figure in the Darul Islam movement who sought to establish Indonesia as a state governed by Islamic law (Hadi 2020), as stated in the Jakarta Charter. His ideas can be seen not only through historical upheavals but also in his book titled "Haloean Politik Islam". Kartosuwirjo's movement aimed to establish Islamic law as the foundation of Indonesia, but due to Pancasila being chosen to represent the diverse religions in Indonesia, dissatisfaction arose, leading to opposition.

Second, the Komando Jihad (KOMJI) is a radical group (Ismail 2017) led by Haji Islamil Pranoto in 1976 that carried out bombings at places of worship. According to Adnan Amal, this group sought to establish an Islamic state, and with strong determination, they opposed Pancasila and wanted Indonesia to be an Islamic state (Amal 2004), even resorting to violence (Gross 2007). The KOMJI emerged during Soeharto's regime, and according to the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), this group is considered an enemy of the state because it rejects Pancasila in favor of an Islamic state (Mengko 2022).

Two years later, the group took further action by destroying places of worship under the leadership of Warman in 1978, 1979, and 1980 (Muhamad Ilyasin 2017), accompanied by other acts of terrorism (Conboy 2006). Through this group, they killed the rector

of Sebelas Maret University, Solo, for allegedly revealing information about the existence of Jemaah Islamiyah to the authorities (Amal 2004).

Third, the Front Pembelaan Muslim (Muslim Liberation Front) is a radical group led by Hassan Tiro in 1977 in Aceh (Purwanto 2021). This group is one of the radical factions that sought to proclaim an independent Aceh. According to H.P. Pangabean, this group is also known for carrying out radical actions, such as bombing places of worship (Pangabean 2017). The Front Pembelaan Muslim group frequently engaged in radical actions in an attempt to separate Aceh from the Republic of Indonesia. Unlike other radical groups that sought to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, this group specifically wanted independence, governed under Islamic law.

Fourth, the Pola Perjuangan Revolusioner Islam (POLA), founded by Abdul Qadir Djaelani in 1978, is a radical group that carried out acts of terrorism. According to Akbar Tandjung, this group openly declared anti-government actions in the lead-up to the 1978 MPR General Session (Ismail 2017), which dealt with the Pancasila ideological guidelines (Tandjung 2007).

Fifth, the Dewan Revolusioner Islam Indonesia, established by Imran in 1980-1981, often carried out radical actions, including major events in Indonesia's history (Muhammad Ilyasin 2017). Notable events by this group include the 1981 attack on Kosekta 8606 in Bandung and the hijacking of a Garuda DC-9 aircraft in 1981. In addition to hijacking planes, the group was involved in other acts of terrorism and violence between 1980 and 1981 (Wahab 2019).

Sixth, post-reformation, radical movements were also carried out by Azhari and Nurdin M. Top. These two figures, linked as teacher and student (Pamungkas 2014), were involved in several terrorist incidents in Indonesia. As reported in police documents and by "Tempo", they were involved in the bombing of the JW Marriott Hotel in South Jakarta on August 5, 2003, which killed 10 people and injured hundreds (Tempo 2019).

In addition to the Jakarta hotel bombing, the group was involved in the more extreme Bali bombings. The Bali bombings were one of the most tragic incidents, resulting in numerous deaths, both Indonesian citizens and foreign tourists. The bombing sparked international condemnation. In this case, Azhari, Dulmatin, and Ali Imron stayed at the Harum Hotel in Denpasar, then moved to a rented house on Street Pulau Menjangan 18, Denpasar, where Azhari assembled the bombs (Tempo 2019), which were used in the bombings of three locations: Paddy's Cafe, Sari Club, and Kuta Beach on October 12, 2002.

Seventh, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is a radical group (Tambunan 2019). Syafii Maarif explained that HTI's main agenda is a transnational Islamic political movement initiated by Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani (Maarif 2009). This group aims to replace the ideology of Pancasila with the caliphate. HTI's movement is considered an attempt at subversion. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a radical group that not only demands the establishment of a caliphate state but also frequently excommunicates other groups that differ in their beliefs. The group's ideology is fundamentalist and textualist, understanding religious texts literally without contextual interpretation. In an effort to preserve the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, the government subsequently disbanded Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and even declared it one of the banned organizations.

Eighth, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, was established through the First Congress in Yogyakarta in 2000 (Jurdi 2013). According to Budhy Munawar Rachman, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia is a group that strongly supports and advocates for the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia (Rachman 2010). This group has been involved in various radical activities, such as bombings and the destruction of places of worship (Jatmika 2019). Syafii Maarif explained that the establishment of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia was meant by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir to prepare a political

structure that would unite all radical Islamic groups and synchronize the struggles of Islamic jihad and Islamic politics (Maarif 2009).

Ninth, the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) is an Islamic organization that is considered radical and was founded around 1998 (Maarif 2009), led by Rizieq Shihab. This figure has gained significant attention in Indonesian society due to his involvement in various controversial cases in post-reformation Indonesia. The group is considered radical because it often uses violence in its campaigns against places they claim are centers of vice, which reflects the methods of radical Islamic groups in Indonesia (Jurdi 2016). However, in its activities related to Indonesian identity, FPI also needs to be viewed as an organization that does not seek to make Indonesia an Islamic state. As explained by Al-Zastrouw Ngatawi, many members of FPI have a strong religious education background and, in the beginning, socialized in religious environments (Ngatawi 2006).

However, other figures argue that FPI is indeed a radical group. According to M. Dani Habibi, FPI is considered radical because it upholds the ideology of establishing the “*Khilāfah Islāmiyyah ‘Ālamīyyah*” in accordance with Islamic law (Habibie 2021). Although this group rejects being called an extreme radical organization, facts show that FPI has a hardline stance in applying Islamic rules (Rofiq 2019). For those who view FPI as a radical group, this perspective has been criticized, as some argue that FPI's presence in Indonesia reflects a failure to understand the principles of moderation. This was expressed by Abdul Gaffar, who argued that the assumption of FPI being radical stems from an incomplete understanding of moderation, where they associate moderation only with openness and inclusivity, without grasping the principles of moderation in Islam that must be firmly upheld (Abdul Gaffar 2020). Therefore, even though this group has been disbanded by the government, it remains a subject of debate between whether it is radical or not. In other words, the group can be considered radical in its ideas but not in its actions, let alone in aspiring to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia.

Tenth, Lasykar Jundullah is a group that calls itself the “army of Allah” in an effort to fight against injustice, founded in 2000 (Tan 2007). In addition, this group seeks to continue the ideas of the NII (Darul Islam), specifically the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia (Said Ali 2020). This group is categorized as one of the radical groups that not only excommunicates those who differ from them but also engages in acts of terror and the destruction of places of worship in several regions in Indonesia. Lasykar Jundullah was also involved in the Poso conflict (Pieris 2004). This group is not overtly visible, but in certain mass organizations, it plays a significant role. Its involvement can be seen in the hashtags and writings found on the ANNAS website. This shows that in the current era, radical groups that have been disbanded are still showing their fangs by participating in forming new organizations.

Eleventh, Lasykar Jihad and Gerakan Islam Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (Islamic Movement of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah) are radical groups founded by Ja'far Umar Thalib in 1999 (Al-Qurtuby 2016). This group was involved in the Maluku conflict, where they contributed to assisting Muslim communities in Maluku (Iskandar 2009) to fight against the Christian group that was part of the Republic of South Maluku (RMS) (Atkins 2004). Although some figures consider this group not to be extremely radical, and even its founder, Ja'far Umar Thalib, explained that he was merely helping fellow Muslims in Maluku, the group's radical nature can be seen in its hostility towards and condemnation of the Shia Imamiyah sect in Indonesia.

Twelfth, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) is a radical group and movement through acts of terrorism (Alius 2019). JAT was formed on July 27, 2008, in Solo and was declared on September 17, 2008, led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (Karsono 2018). This group often criticizes individuals, the police, the military, society, and the government of Indonesia (Jordan and Philpott 2019).

Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid split due to political differences within the Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI). This internal conflict led to

a reconciliation meeting in Jakarta, where Muhammad Achwan and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir resigned and formed a new group called Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (Purwanto 2021). However, another view holds that Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid is a reincarnation of the previous terrorist group Jamaah Islamiyah (Acharya 2015), with the primary mission of establishing a giant Islamic state across Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines (Baskara 2009).

Thirteenth, the Aliansi Nasional Anti Syiah (ANNAS) Indonesia was founded in Bandung in 2014 and is led by Athian Ali M (Admonds 2019). This group openly campaigns against Shia Islam, claiming it is a threat to Muslims in Indonesia, and has called for a massive revolution in the country (Bagir 2019). According to Najib Burhani, with their ambition and fanaticism, they not only campaign against Shia Islam in society but also generalize all Shia groups as heretical (Burhani 2019). Furthermore, ANNAS spreads anti-Shia messages on its official website, www.annasindonesia.com, and on social media (Akmaliyah 2022).

In addition to using its official website, ANNAS also utilizes social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to fight against Shia Islam, which they consider radical and deviant from Islamic teachings, without ever seeking clarification or dialogue with the Shia community in Indonesia. Clearly, groups like ANNAS contribute to the spread of hate speech, which can lead to religiously motivated violence (Mibtadin and Sugiyarto 2023). In fact, reports by the SETARA Institute show that ANNAS is often involved in violating the rights to freedom of religion and belief (KBB) against the Shia community (Masda 2022).

In conclusion, it is evident that throughout Indonesia's history, many radical groups have engaged in political maneuvers, even though their methods have often involved violence. The groups mentioned above are part of radical factions involved in events that have resulted in casualties and various other terrorist activities.

Portrait and Movements of Radical Groups Behind Social Media Propaganda

Since the world entered an era of technological advancement, especially the internet age, the models and patterns of radical group dissemination have experienced significant growth. This is not only seen in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East, where ISIS movements have portrayed Islam in a violent and terrifying light. A similar phenomenon has also emerged in Indonesia. Indonesia, as one of the world's largest Muslim-majority countries, is also home to radical movements that range from extreme views and attitudes to acts of terrorism.

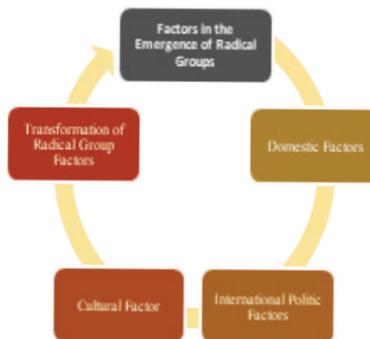
As a result, the various radical movements carried out by radical groups through social media have created numerous negative impacts. The effects of these radical movements are evident in the rise of hatred and hostility, creating significant polarization within Indonesian society. Consequently, groups targeted by this movement's aggression receive negative stigmas and are publicly labeled as deviant on social media.

Moreover, terrorism can have frightening impacts. These effects stem from individuals who become victims of radical influences, having been misguided in their consumption of social media content filled with radical doctrines. Besides content that promotes hatred, certain radical groups also seek to influence social media users, encouraging them to join these radical groups. Therefore, this discussion will further explore the portraits and movements of radical groups on social media. This will help us understand the reasons behind the rise of radical groups on social media, the types of accounts they use, and the kinds of radical content produced by these groups to influence social media users.

Factors in the Existence of Radical Groups on Social Media

The emergence of radical groups does not occur spontaneously but rather has a set of specific agendas these groups aim to achieve,

such as establishing an Islamic state or caliphate (Hisyam and Pamungkas 2016). In other words, the rise of radical groups is driven by three fundamental human needs: identity, community, and a sense of purpose (Alimi 2018). This agenda is marked by several factors, both domestic and international. These factors are closely related to contesting roles resulting from misunderstandings in interpreting religious texts, politics, and economics, thus allowing the spirit of radical movements to persist in society. Another factor contributing to the emergence of radical groups is the transformation of these groups. This factor relates to how radical movements continue to arise, as groups that the government has previously disbanded can transition to forming new associations or join other groups that remain active. These factors are outlined in the following table:



To understand the reasons behind the rise of radical groups, the following factors are explained, which include domestic, international political, and cultural factors based on a tendency toward a narrow and textual interpretation of religious beliefs.

1. Domestic Factors

Domestic factors are those experienced within the national and regional scope that directly impact society at large (Musyafak and Nisa 2020). These include situations within the country that do not align with societal expectations, leading to issues such as poverty, injustice, or dissatisfaction with government policies (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020). When there is inequality within a

nation or region, this can trigger movements accompanied by anti-government attitudes, which is understood as a domestic factor.

In Indonesia, radical movements arising from domestic factors often appear as symbols of resistance to perceived injustices perpetrated by the ruling regime. Such groups have been observed throughout Indonesia's history, both before and after the New Order era. This is because domestic conditions involving poverty, injustice, or disappointment with the regime or government can lead to the emergence of radical movements (Aisyah 2023).

On social media, we can see various protest actions containing narratives that show opposition to the ruling regime. These protesting groups view the current rulers as unjust and favoring certain groups, resulting in inequalities ranging from justice and economic welfare to religious issues that are often perceived as being discriminated against by the government (Prasetyo 2021). Consequently, by leveraging social media, radical groups carry out their actions by spreading hate speech, hostility, and even calls to oppose the government, which they consider to be unfaithful. Thus, it can be understood that domestic factors can trigger radical movements by certain individuals or groups, marked by an unhealthy political climate and economic and justice inequalities. The role of domestic factors becomes essential in observing various radicalism issues in Indonesia.

2. International Political Factors

The rise of radical groups is influenced not only by domestic factors but also by international political interests. International factors are global aspects that indirectly have the potential to spark sympathy for the fate of other nations of the same religion that are often treated unjustly (Musyafak and Nisa 2020). International political factors represent the influence of foreign environments that encourage the growth of religious sentiments, such as global injustice, arrogant foreign policies, and modern imperialism by superpowers (Tahir et al. 2020).

Social media allows for connections between international radical groups, enabling the spread of their doctrines and teachings. This influence from foreign environments motivates the growth of religious sentiments, such as global injustice, arrogant foreign policies, and resistance to modern imperialism by superpowers (Aisyah 2023).

One example of the international spread of radical ideology is the “Arab Spring” in the Middle East, which marked significant socio-political changes. These changes had a substantial impact internationally, as they led to the rise of a large Salafi-Wahhabi movement in Arab countries. According to Yon Machmudi, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) generally supported the Arab Spring but demanded not only minor changes but the implementation of Islamic law (Machmudi 2020).

In Indonesia, radical groups often have direct or indirect connections with radical movements abroad, such as ISIS, the Taliban, and other radical organizations. This can be seen in the assessment by the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) that some radical groups like Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) have affiliations with ISIS in Syria. According to Dedei Prasetyo, the development of terrorism networks in Indonesia is influenced by international politics, with some radical groups operating in Indonesia having links to foreign radical groups (Prasetyo 2021).

3. Cultural Factors

Cultural factors are those developed within certain communities, characterized by shallow religious understanding, narrow interpretations, and incorrect indoctrination (Musyafak and Nisa 2020). In a pluralistic society with diverse ways of thinking, there are individuals or groups inclined toward inclusive or exclusive beliefs. Exclusive beliefs that do not accommodate dialogue with differing views can lead to radical understandings. This depicts a community culture that tends to limit itself to its beliefs, rejecting dialogue with others they consider incorrect.

Cultural factors involve a shallow religious understanding based on a narrow, lexical (literal) interpretation of scripture (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020). This perspective is known as a textualist understanding. Textualist individuals accept religious texts at face value without attempting to integrate their understanding with other approaches. Comparing these texts with diverse approaches could lead to a more holistic understanding, enabling coexistence with those deemed different.

4. Transformation of Radical Groups and the Challenges of Deradicalization

Radical groups previously disbanded by the government often remain active by infiltrating other groups or transforming into new ones. This phenomenon is part of the transformation of radical groups. As former BNPT head Suhadi Alius explained, deradicalization efforts must not only address the downstream problem of radicalism but also tackle its upstream roots (Alius 2019).

Transformation refers to the shift from one group to another, indicating that individuals who were previously affiliated with disbanded radical groups rejoin new or other groups considered not yet radical. Although the transformation of radical groups remains relatively under-researched, it is crucial to monitor and control these changes. According to Suhadi Alius, the methods used by radical and terrorist groups are increasingly sophisticated. This transformation has been documented by the Setara Institute, which divides the transformation of Islamic movements into three stages:

First: A national Islamic movement based on Islam and nationality, transforming into a political movement within democracy (Hasani and Naipospos 2012),

Second: An Islamic movement shifting from practical politics to missionary work, with two main streams: substantial

and legal-formalistic groups (Hasani and Naipospos 2012). These emerged due to the political climate of the New Order period.

Third: A radical Islamic movement transforming into a jihadi or terrorist movement. Groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi-Wahabi, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and others have evolved into movements in Indonesia that have posed serious threats to national security (Hasani and Naipospos 2012).

Based on this explanation, the spread of radical movements is not only caused by domestic, international political, or cultural factors but also by the transformation of radical groups in Indonesia. This transformation should be a particular concern for social media users, the Indonesian public, and, especially, the government in addressing radical group movements in Indonesia.

Therefore, when a certain group's activities are disbanded, we must ask whether deradicalization has been applied to all affiliates of the group. The author suggests that membership status and group affiliations need clarification and regular evaluation across all social media activities.

Stages of the Spread of Radical Group Ideology on Social Media

In the previous discussion, it was mentioned that radical groups can spread their ideology both directly and indirectly. Observing the technological advancements, particularly the spread of information through social media, the pattern of spreading radical movements consists of various aspects, beginning from radical understanding and potentially leading to acts of terrorism.

Thus, we may question how to identify the processes and stages undertaken by radical groups. To answer this question, we can refer to the explanation provided by the Indonesian National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT). According to BNPT, there are three stages in the spread of radical ideology, including the stages of intolerance,

radicalism, and terrorism. For a simplified understanding, see the following table. The explanations of these three stages of spread are as follows:

1. Intolerance

Intolerance is the foundation of radical understanding. When a person can no longer appreciate or accept differing opinions and only accepts views from their own group, this understanding already shows signs of radical ideology. Such an understanding is characterized as exclusive, as it does not open up to existing differences.

In Indonesia, through social media, there are many people with intolerant views. Although increasing intolerance and radicalism in Indonesia have not necessarily led to an increase in terrorism (Ahmad Muttaqin et al. 2021), the rise in intolerance is still a potential threat to the younger generation, who are well-acquainted with social media.

The phase of intolerance includes having a mindset that despises diversity and differences. At this stage, intolerance remains ideological, marking the beginning of radical beliefs. This mindset fails to respect differences and tends to blame others, manifesting as rejection and hatred toward other groups (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020).

On social media, we can observe the spread of radical content that influences users with hate speech fostering intolerance. Through intolerance, those exposed to radical ideas tend to exhibit an intolerant mindset toward specific groups such as religious, ethnic, or sexual minorities, as seen in the cases of the Ahmadiyya in West Java and the Shia community in Sampang (Imam Kanafi 2023). Radical groups often call for the establishment of an Islamic state enforcing Islamic law, though their rhetoric does not reflect true Islamic values, instead narrowing the teachings of Islam (Labib 2014).

Therefore, we understand that those who frequently call for Islamic law often do not embody the true values of Islam,

leaning toward intolerance and tarnishing the concept of Islamic law.

2. Radical

When someone can no longer accept diversity and believes that only their own views are correct, this can lead them to adopt a mindset of blaming others. This stage reflects that they fall into a radical phase, where the tendency is to solely blame others. The radical phase is characterized by an active attitude of blaming others, such as declaring certain people as heretics or infidels, and expressing hatred toward different groups (as seen in their attitudes) (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020). In the realm of social media, we can observe how some users exhibit intolerance toward others. This is evidenced by various intolerant content being spread. Such intolerance often takes the form of comments that fuel discussions on social media or posts that promote intolerant views. Radical behavior on social media can be seen in the form of hate speech targeting religious, racial, ethnic groups, and others (Zein 2019).

Additionally, by observing the developments in social media, we can see how certain groups explicitly attack specific others, such as the group that calls itself the National Anti-Shiite Alliance (ANNAS). This group has often campaigned against Shiism, accusing it of radicalism, and was founded in Bandung around 2012. According to their claims, ANNAS was established in response to the phenomenon of Shiism, which they believe has deceived ordinary Muslims through practices like '*taqiyyah*', and by adopting an 'ambivalent' (double-faced) strategy. Shiites present themselves as part of an Islamic sect that should be tolerated despite differences. However, ANNAS is supported by radical groups, such as Jundullah, which is classified as a radical group. This connection can be seen in hashtags used in some of ANNAS's official posts, indicating ties to groups like Lasykar Jundullah. The existence of ANNAS has influenced social media. This

is evident in their official accounts on platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and others. This group even issued a fatwa through their book “*Fatwa-Fatwa Sesat Syiah*” (Fatwas on the Heresy of Shiism) to the Indonesian public, declaring Shiism as deviant without engaging in further academic dialogue with the accused.

Among the issues considered radical by certain parties in Shiite teachings are matters such as mut'ah marriage, accusations of heresy toward companions of the Prophet Muhammad, the alleged degradation of the companions' status, differences in the ownership of the Qur'an, and the concept of *wilayat al-faqih*, which is related to the idea of *imamah* and is seen as potentially replacing Pancasila as the foundation of the Indonesian state.

These issues are widely discussed on social media through various posts, whether in the form of written content, images, or videos that spread across platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and even WhatsApp groups. Year after year, the same issues continue to stir heated debates across generations, seemingly without end. Despite repeated clarifications from Indonesian Shiite organizations like Ahlul-Bait Indonesia (ABI) and Ikatan Jamaah Ahlul-Bait Indonesia (IJABI) through seminars, workshops, written content, and interfaith and national dialogues, these issues appear to have evolved beyond religious problems and become politically charged, played out by certain parties with vested interests.

To understand the role of radical groups in labeling Shiism as radical, one might question: Which group is trying to antagonize and wage war against Shiites? Do Shiite teachings seek to replace Pancasila with an Islamic state? According to Romo Magnis Suseno, it is discriminatory attitudes that fuel anti-difference and anti-pluralism groups to engage in discriminatory, anarchic, and even radical actions against minority and marginalized groups such as Ahmadiyah, Shiites, and religious or spiritual adherents (Magnis Suseno 2015).

Even Iran, often perceived as a Shiite state, does not fully implement divine law. As explained by Muhsin Labib:

Countries often considered Islamic states do not use revelation in their constitutions; instead, they use interpretations that are formulated into a system of government. The Islamic Republic of Iran, for example, does not fully follow divine law. Its constitution is derived from interpretations or exegesis, which are then introduced into the constitution and legalized through elections. Thus, its constitution is not the type of Islamic state one might imagine but a republic based on a constitution that draws from Islamic sources. Therefore, the more accurate translation of the Arabic term *al-Jumhūriyyāh al-Islāmiyyah fī Īrān* would be the Islamic Republic of Iran, where Islam is merely a characteristic that colors its constitution, after passing through a referendum agreed upon by the majority of its citizens (Labib 2014).

From this, if Shiism is not a radical group, then who is radical? Could it be that those who accuse Shiites of being radical are, in fact, the radical ones themselves? Many questions arise about the reasons behind the emergence of radicalism. What influences some individuals to follow or spread radical ideas? Is radicalism a dangerous ideology if left unchecked in Indonesia? Some may argue that radicalism is fueled by a religious spirit, while others might assert that political and economic interests, particularly the quest for power, are the driving forces behind it. This assumption is not entirely incorrect, but a comprehensive study would be needed to provide a valid and factual explanation.

When further investigation is conducted, it becomes apparent that many individuals and religious groups in Indonesia reject being labeled as part of a radical group. In fact, they actively campaign against radicalism, which is often attributed to other groups. This includes some members of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), who have issued fatwas about the dangers and heresy of Shiism in Indonesia (MUI 2013). Moreover, minority groups in Indonesia, particularly followers of Shiite Islam, are frequently labeled as radicals without clear,

rational justification, and without any serious efforts to foster dialogue that could lead to harmonious relations.

3. Terrorism

Terrorism is defined as an attitude that employs violence to achieve ideological goals, culminating in bombings or killings (Saifuddin 2023). In terrorism, radical beliefs reach a peak where they manifest in violent acts and conflicts. Individuals exposed to radical ideologies often react to differences with terror or even murder (Suaib Tahir et al. 2020). Radical groups often engage in violent actions such as bombings, assassinations, robberies, sabotage, and hostage-taking (Santoso 2020).

Terrorism also has a dark side within the realm of social media. For instance, ISIS, which emerged around April 2013, demonstrated how extremist groups effectively utilize information technology and communication to disseminate radical messages (Purwanto 2021). Examples include the suicide bombing in Surabaya in 2018 and the bombing of the Makassar Cathedral in 2021 (Imam Kanafi 2023). Thus, through social media, both perpetrators and those influenced by radical ideas can use the platform to spread their radical ideology.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of radical groups acting on social media is not separate from certain factors that enable these groups to exist. Among the factors contributing to the spread of propaganda ideology are domestic, international political, cultural, and the transformation of radical group movements. These factors are defined as follows:

Domestic Factors: This refers to changes in social, political, or economic conditions that involve inequality and injustice, which lead groups that feel victimized by the ruling regime to engage in radical movements or actions, sometimes even extending to terrorism. This factor is accompanied by hatred and anger toward the regime or authorities perceived to have deviated, creating conditions in which society lives under oppression and hardship.

International Political Factors: This refers to the influence of global politics based on certain tendencies and concerns for specific countries, which may trigger radical movements, including protests, violent actions, or terrorism.

Cultural Factors: This relates to the socio-religious conditions of society, where there is a lack of openness in responding to different beliefs held by other groups. This factor also represents an exclusive attitude in interpreting and understanding religious teachings, leading to the perception that anyone who holds different beliefs is seen as wrong and even fought against by radical groups.

Transformation of Radical Group Movements: This refers to the evolution and development of previously existing radical organizations or groups that then form new radical groups. This factor is one that should be watched closely, as members or sympathizers of radical groups that have been dissolved by the government can form new associations. This occurs due to an incomplete or insufficient deradicalization process for those already contaminated with radical ideologies, potentially leading to the emergence of new radical groups.

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